

Music & Letters

A Quarterly Publication

Founded by A. H. FOX STRANGWAYS

Edited by ERIC BLOM

Price Five Shillings

Vol. XXVII No. 3

July 1946

CONTENTS

	PAGE
The Concert R. P. Hewett . . .	131
Between Dune and Desert Richard Capell . . .	134
"La Clarté Française" in Orchestration . . . Norman Suckling . . .	141
The Prince Regent's Band Adam Carse . . .	147
A Check-List of Beethoven's Chamber Music—III Donald W. MacArdle . . .	156
Stendhal and Mozart John P. Harthan . . .	174
Shudi and the "Venetian Swell" Eric Halfpenny . . .	180
An Early Instance of Copyright—Venice 1622 Peter Gradenwitz . . .	185
Reviews of Books	187
Reviews of Music	201

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Music and Letters

JULY 1946

Volume XXVII

No. 3

THE CONCERT

By R. P. HEWETT

He supposed that he was happy enough, in a way. It was after the usual day, monotone and empty with its occasional hints of colour and strength, that he had taken the opportunity to go to a one-hour concert by the leading orchestra of the country. His anticipations had been vague but acute. Elgar's 'Introduction & Allegro' for strings meant for him a very definite picture of the past. He had first heard it at a cottage in the deepest icy depths of Sussex in November, during a week-end with Mary in the early days of their marriage. He hoped that the piece would take him back again to that strange carefree atmosphere that the past is always wrapped in: the selective memory picking out the highlights and the moments of peace, and rubbing out the neutral tints. Perhaps to-night he would remember, for the first time for months, what an unthinking happiness was like; and perhaps the music would tell him again of the stone floor with the rugs, the ashy hearth silvery under the leaping fire and the crackling wood, the shadows on the low whitewash, Mary's head lit above the shadows of her body in the twisted armchair and Elgar's leaping strings saying that everything was all right. But perhaps not.

There was the orchestra, laid out in front of him under a blazing light, a hundred and twenty people, all in movement, the woodwind running up and down the scale, a bald double-bass bowing and fingering through a difficult passage, oblivious to the waving of the brass and the whistling strings around him: everyone in ordinary clothes and looking like ordinary people for once—a grey-haired woman viola-player who might smoke too much and even call you "dearie", a thin man worried about his children, a large hairy oboist who could be imagined with a sports car. The intoxication of an orchestra tuning up possessed and absorbed him. He settled into his seat and found a cigarette. This was going to be good: he might even forget that he had a funny stomach and couldn't sleep.

The conductor was tall and lithe, in shirt-sleeves and braces, with a thin waist and greying hair. He stood quite still in front of the orchestra, tapped the desk in front of him, and instantly a solid silence like a physical presence flowed into the hall, surrounding each player and freezing the audience into immobility. There seemed to be an unnaturally long pause. Someone smothered a cough. And then the conductor, the magician, raised his arms above his head. The magic, the incantation began.

Fingers stroked away the smudge and mist of habit from him, sitting tiny in the dress circle. Elgar took him away from himself in a few

moments. Bit by bit the music undressed him of his staleness, his complacency, his stock responses, his squirrel runs through the warm bars of the old revolving cage. He knew that the associative qualities had something to do with it; but it was surprising how little he remembered of the cottage and how much he found to be true, patently and obviously true, now, at this moment. He wondered idly for a minute whether the great arm-swings and body lunges of the conductor strengthened his back muscles, but Elgar pulled him back to attention almost as soon as he began to drift. The violas had a tune, a running quavery tune, and the others hummed to it: no, the first violins had it, higher and finer and sweeter, and as they reached the end of the phrase the cellos took it up deep and noble. He could not choose: it was orange-colour and lemon-colour, each setting off and sharpening the other; the major sweetness of the orange, the minor greeny acid pierce of the lemon, each being themselves and each helping the other—

"Crying, what I say is me: for that I came."

Then came the first clear memory, the only theme he had definitely held over from those early days: the soaring melody, climbing by inches, hopeful and clear, a May afternoon, the colour of water and grass and sheepbells and the clear sky and English tree-and-meadow panoramas. It lost itself, dazzled by the shimmer of the plucked strings and the semitone fall of the double-basses; only to come out again triumphant as the first sunshine after cloud, higher and higher with the pulsing, shifting harmonies beneath it.

It was in an allegro passage that he first began to be really moved. He had often enough had his heart torn out by music; but he had seldom seen a fine orchestra in action. By chance he saw the hands of the cellists, ten or twelve or fifteen sets of fingers, intricately touching the fingerboards, flicking and shaking and flying from top to bottom, all magically together: the bows sweeping across and back as the conductor's arms said legato, said flow, said *doucement*, *doucement*; shaking, slicing, falling, twisting like fish as he clenched and shadow-punched and beat the air, triumphantly sweeping and saying yes, yes, this is the way it really is, this is the way you really are. He saw these men, ordinary human beings, wrought by their own efforts to a pitch of human skill that almost brought tears. This was not the intellectual passive pleasure of the blank-faced radio, the cosy relaxation of the black-ridged record and the jumping, surging sound-box: this was people doing something together. This was the answer to those who feared regimentation when the people worked together, who moaned of robots and automata. This was what you could do with a drooling baby learning to hold a fork, in twenty years of society and living on the real earth.

But Elgar said come back and listen, this is what I think. He made a circle on the still surface: then another on the other side; a third, quiet and growing wider; a fourth, insistent in the middle. He made them interlock, fuse, flow and blow into one another, ruffle each other's edges, splash up against the sides, topple and flow under each other, slide across into each other's arms, until the pulsing hall was rocked in the patterns of the waves. And then the first violins slid again into that climbing country melody and, section after section, the second violins, the violas, the cellos, the bass-violos left their ruminating murmurs and their contemplative pizzicatos, and made up the dazzling grass, the limpid water, the dark bunched trees below the rich sky of the melody.

He was happy. His knots were untied. The whole hall was swimming in harmony. On the wind was the unforgotten smell of lady's bedstraw in the rich waterfields; the undergrowth in the lichened woods was the

tender green of spring; the clouds blew silky and silvery over the sky. But the landscape was no longer depopulated: no longer a private view from the family's own hill, the country meant for him to travel in alone. It was, for the first time, a landscape with figures. The tight separate boxes of his politics or his social conscience or merely his friendliness, and his culture, pictures and music and poetry, broke open and spilled into one another. This music was a social activity. The conductor held the players in his curving arms, and the players held the conductor in the strong sweetness of their notes. The fingers moved together again, the bow-arms swept: people, human people, saying something together that poured into the most secret recesses of his heart. Music was not only an experience, not only "linked sweetness long drawn out", not only "my bowels were moved for him": it was also an activity: the magic of a choir or an orchestra talking not only to the rich and relaxed audience but to itself. Elgar said that things were, after all, bearable: that the pattern of dark and light that he, sitting tiny in the circle, thought his private property and his own little visceral sensation, was ours, the orchestra's, the conductor's, mine, Elgar's: it is our doom, our fate—and our privilege, our heartcatching future, to be people, to remember and to want, to think and to feel, to dream and to act. This was not a luxury music—not for the soft hours when the fire is settled, the world apart, and all well; but something for our mortality, for our humanness.

Yes, there was no doubt about it now. There *were* demons in the swamps: there *were* indecisions, fevers, sickness, fear. The cellos spoke of nostalgia, of that blind unforgetting wish to go backwards, on to the hill where we raced the wind on the long summer afternoons, back, finally, to the warm red unthinking enfolded womb. He thought of pain, of ennui, of the failures and the petty treacheries, and here was Elgar saying yes, we are poor and frail, we are monkeys and dogs, we are lost and blown by the winds and the waves of life. But, suddenly, in the midst of chaos and a drunken baroque houseful of sound, came the theme again, the climbing chords, the Sussex tranquil harmonies, insistent but sweet under the edifice of confusion. Almost unnoticed, block after block took it up. The peace of Sussex would come again into his life as Elgar made its theme come again into his music: the certainty was there, mapped out for all to see. The conductor flowed from the middle: his arms swept the whole orchestra into a perfect unity, varied and shimmering as the sky, and one, one, together. We have courage in our weakness, persistence in our feebleness, right and power in our world of wrong: we lift up heart and eyes, we can sweep the oceans and turn the spinning globe. The future is ours.

The sixth-formers had starry eyes when he saw them in the vestibule. The music had said something to the most unwilling and hardened of them. There were no heroics, no uplift, not even any words. But inside he knew, and he knew they knew, and the orchestra knew, and Elgar knew. Catgut and scorepaper and an old man like a colonel with a roundening belly; muscle co-ordination and manual dexterity and precision of the eardrum; reflexes and acuity of response and the tender care of instrument-makers: these were the materials. The catalectic agent was the unbeaten spirit of man, knowing his humanness and conquering the plains and the spaces of the stars. Here, in the fog and wet stone of East London, why, the buses were magnificent: smooth and red and sliding, creeping to the curb and swinging off again. The battered hulk of a church showed the early moonlight through its circular gaping window; the steaming windows of a little café yellowed out below

the bombed arabesque of its upper storeys. And scurrying to bus-stops, walking through the rising wind, sitting at wheels and guiding monsters through the dark streets, was little man, who had done it all by scrabbling with his finger-tips. The roads were immortal, the warehouses, the factories, the docks and wharves and black bridges and the snail's curling trail of the river spread out around him, and he held them all in the hollow of his hand.

BETWEEN DUNE AND DESERT¹

By RICHARD CAPELL

ON autumn afternoons in 1941 Christopher Benn and I would bathe in the bay at Bagûsh—then Eighth Army headquarters—and stroll between the dunes. Perfect, that bathing beach, the best in all the Mediterranean. And not wholly dead the landscape; a palm-tree or two sprouted in the dip between the seaward dunes and the interminable desert. Migrating birds from Europe came down there for respite, so weary that they could hardly bring themselves to shuffle away from our feet, before they pursued their way to the far south.

Those days were an interlude. The November battle was coming, the Crusader campaign, so called, which Benn was not to see out. It brought back an old time to me, but to him, half my age, it was new—the hopes, the tension, the qualms of the days before battle. The air seemed heavy. Or the fading summer might be threatened by a sharp hint, with wind and breakers in the bay, of the Libyan winter that was at hand.

Of what did we not talk? Benn was serene of temper and shrewd in argument; he was confident that all things did not work together for ill. He seemed not to be so young. It was the eve of battle; and youth is of any age when the morrow may bring eternity. He had seen the end of an era; I had seen two such endings, but one was enough for experience. We talked of all things. Of the doom of Shall and Should, condemned by the barbarians of the enlarged English-speaking world. Of the chances in the after-war world, of the end of men's crow-like black-coatedness and the possibility of suits of many colours. Benn, I seem to remember, thought something was still to be said for the top hat. Gingerly we talked of 1940. Will not all who lived that year talk of it always with a certain gingerliness? Piety or awe requires that certain experiences of life, love and death, and a remission from death awful almost as death itself, should not be too insistently talked about. I suppose it was music that cropped up most often.

There was no knowing we were not in for another ice-age. Then let us—breathing, it might be, an air cloudy with sand blown from the south-west—make the most of our old unclouded days! Benn, and it is surely a consolation to be dwelt upon, had had these generously allowed him. Bright among the hours recalled were Beecham concerts and summer afternoons at Glyndebourne. We peered into them fondly as at a peep-show of another world.

I could take a longer view into the era before the other deluge, and the lucidity came back of my sense, in August 1914, of a world's passing, of a curtain irrevocably fallen and lights put out. He would chaff me a

¹ An Introduction to Christopher Benn's posthumous book on the production of Mozart's operas, 'Mozart on the Stage', which is shortly to be published by Ernest Benn.

little for idealizing the extinguished splendour, Edwardian Covent Garden, the first apparition of the Russian dancers, never afterwards matched in that original quality of theirs of nobleness in luxury and magical accomplishment, and Shaliapin nights at Drury Lane, when Shaliapin had not become a wandering prodigy but was a star in a constellation. Benn knew the material of all this well enough, and inclined to think of it as rather tawdry; and I would maintain the poetry there had been in the incomparable glitter of it all, the dazzling talents, the princely profusion. He would argue that his own experience had been a match; that princeliness had survived the old war—that there had been princes between the wars, the Courtaulds and John Christie; that his youth as well as mine had been the age of Beecham; that Toscanini's public had little to envy Nikisch's; that there had been Rosenkavaliers as sumptuous since 1919 as before 1914; above all, that his age, superior to the spell of ephemeral showiness, had, as Edwardian youth had hardly done, recognized the eternal verities. Of Bach, his sublime order and ageless authority; and of Mozart, his supernatural creativeness, rich as nature's own but supernatural in the effect of achieved purpose made by his infallible formal control.

Benn was a young Englishman of the generation, the first for centuries, in whose education and culture music was a regularly planted feature, not a snipped buttonhole but a rooted growth. Not an exotic to be cultivated only in a rarely exceptional plot, but proper to the garden of every educated mind. A whole chapter of English social history would be wanted to account for the old frivolity of our appreciation of music and the consequent impoverishment of our eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the centuries when the European intellect outdid in music the exploitation of all the other arts. It would be interesting to go into the long-continued English academic obtuseness to the intellectual claims of music. By what accident was Greek prosody, through generation after generation, established as a fundamental study and discipline for the English governing classes, and the very rudiments of music, the merest literacy, ignored in their academies? The judicial humorist who still in the twentieth century can, in a court of law, raise a laugh by asking for an interpretation of the word *arpeggio* is a product of that deliberate illiteracy.

I thought of Christopher Benn as illustrating the change in the English intellectual scene worked in this century by the new class of music masters in the principal schools. His musical aptitude was not highly exceptional, and at an earlier time he would probably have accepted deprivation from music cheerfully enough. But in his day the English schoolboy had no longer to steal his way to music. The door was open, the chance offered him, to be made much of or little; the introduction afforded him to Bach and Beethoven as to other generations of schoolboys the introduction to Plato and the classic poets.

It came about, this enrichment of the average educated Englishman's life, under the pressure of the phenomenon and the prestige, unexampled in any other civilization, of modern European music. It was more or less inevitable. If Attic tragedy represented the very sublimity of the working of man's mind, not less so did the classical symphony; nor could it, in the long run, be regarded as an inferior study. What can be fairly said is that the English academic acknowledgment, slow in coming, was, when it came, not perfunctory or drily scholastic. The schools may not all have been abreast, but it is the common testimony of English youth that music was made a stimulating subject. The seeming impossible would be undertaken—the execution, for instance, of Bach's Mass—and such an experience could only put a stamp for life on any boy of average

susceptibility. The music masters of the principal English schools were in a considerable proportion pupils of Parry, Parratt and Stanford, and the boys they taught inherited a tradition and a standard.

To talk about music with Christopher Benn was often to think of him, with his lively if not all-absorbing interest in music, and his superior intelligence, as an illustrative case, and to start wondering what English musical life might have been if something like Parry's educational influence had begun a century or so sooner. It was tempting to think of him as typical, especially in his devotion to Mozart.

Not that he was typically exclusive, after the fashion of his generation. He would even defend Mahler, whom he thought a composer underrated in England. But Romanticism and especially Late Romanticism had lost most of their magic for the generation that was young between the wars. Not that was its plight—it was natural; Tennyson, too, and Swinburne were in eclipse. The plight of the generation was remarkably new. This youth was, as no other generation had been, dissatisfied with its contemporary music. Amused—that was the word in vogue—it may have been with the dry harlequinade of Stravinsky and Hindemith, but profoundly dissatisfied. The plight of the generation was that, with all its new knowledgeableness, it found itself at the end of an era of European music. The wonderful summer was over, the harvest garnered, and the sounds in the air were the crackle of wintry thorns.

The book of the time was Spengler's 'Decline of the West'. Only the scientists and engineers were in a position to ignore or disallow its confession of lost confidence, lost faith. The general plight of youth, desperate for a faith of some kind, was illustrated by the resort of so many generous spirits to the wastes of Marxian materialism. How barren was this and hollow was shown up by the absence of its expression, in any measure worth mentioning, in any of the arts. Not that anti-Marxianism did any better, if we except Roy Campbell's 'Toledo' poems. Whither then, in the ailing world between the wars, was a man like Christopher Benn to look, however sanguine by nature, unless to the past?

The backward look had to go beyond the nineteenth century, the century of the music of the burgesy—a music, on the one hand, of merely domestic affections and on the other of adventurous extravagance. The age of the middle classes was that of spirited adventure. Its sons, sailing every sea and hacking their way through continents, made fortunes at the ends of the earth and founded empires by accident. Berlioz and Wagner represent in music that spirit of audacious exploration. The 'Ring' is a nineteenth-century empire, magnificent and ramshackle. The middle class which roamed a half-discovered world was, at the same time, the class of a special warmheartedness in family relations. Schumann and Brahms are the musicians of burges affections and of the big and close-knit families where almost every day is someone's birthday or wedding anniversary, fondly observed.

But the wonderful age was over in 1919, and its splendour was tarnished for the time by the horrors of the catastrophe in which it fell. Europe's confidence in itself was undermined, and perhaps more than anywhere else among the victorious nations of the west. It is illustrative of the scepticism of the time that there was a moment when the backward glance of some should have impatiently passed over Beethoven even, since Beethoven's sombre heroism was hopeful at heart, and hope was illusion. Some retreated to the sixteenth century, but in general the order of the eighteenth, as idealized in Bach and Mozart, was the chosen refuge.

Bach, perhaps yes—but at the beginning of this century could anyone have conceived that Mozart would come to figure on the scene in any-

thing like this imposing way? It is curious to remember how, in the days before Beecham's propaganda, little of Mozart's music was currently performed in England. Hardly more than three or four symphonies, or more than four or five concertos; a dozen or so of the chamber works. At Edwardian Covent Garden only 'Don Giovanni' was sung. Beecham brought 'Così fan tutte' back to light; at Drury Lane he enthralled London after many years with 'The Magic Flute'; he made the 'Seraglio' into a favourite, a popular opera; he produced 'Figaro' in a stylish form which set a new standard for the staging of classical opera in England. All this was at the time an enrichment rather than the meeting of a need. But the day of the absolute need for Mozart was close at hand.

The times turned tragic, and in a world that had lost its bearings Mozart represented man in control of his world. The more the crystal was peered into, the greater seemed the wonder. Divine, the creativeness in that incessant play of sound. But admirable above all, in the light of these latter days, the faultless adequacy; not the springing invention only, but its contained sufficiency and divine completeness—illimitable with never an extravagance! While Mozart's fame had never, in a century and a half, suffered anything like the eclipse that at one time befell Bach, this was a new appreciation.

In the sanguine nineteenth century Mozart was seen as out-topped and overshadowed by Beethoven. Any other view was paradoxical, and Ulibishev an eccentric. Jahn felt bound to magnify all he could find in Mozart of prophetic romanticism. It was his defence of Mozart against the century's image of him, bewigged and dressed in lace and silk. Parry could not altogether overcome this or banish a rococo Mozart, frivolous compared with Beethoven. The fact being that his age had no absolute need of a music earlier than Beethoven's.

The new hour struck, and it brought a task. That was part of the interest and the charm—that the generation had not merely to bask in a restored radiance but had its own share and endeavour to give to the restoration, the exercise to make of all possible wit and judgment in the practice of Mozart's music. The whirlpool was on the one hand and on the other the sandbanks—to starboard an anachronistic passion and fury of sound, and to port the exaggeration, in deference to the fashion of men's clothes in Mozart's day, of daintiness. 'Don Giovanni' had been turned from a merry into a tragic opera, and memories still fresh were of Paderewski's audacious clatter in the march of the Sonata in A major and of Busoni storming in the C minor Fantasia. But it was now the day of the regimen of the historic conscience in musical execution, and perhaps there had never, in the instrumental field at all events, been Mozartian performances at once so richly full and so faithful as in the decades of this retrospect.

Nor, at the same time, scenic productions of the operas so cared for and ingenious. This, a peculiar preoccupation of the age, was the subject of the study upon which Christopher Benn was engaged in the years before 1939 and which is represented substantially, although no doubt not definitively, by the book now given us.

What were the effect and character of the original productions of Mozart's operas? We can do rather more than guess. There is the abundance of the eighteenth-century's testimony to the virtuosity of its singers, and we have the first Basilio's, Michael Kelly's, account of 'Figaro' in 1786:

It was allowed that never was opera stronger cast. I have seen it performed at different periods in other countries, and well too, but no more to compare with its original performance than light is to darkness.

A given music is evidence of what was the contemporary executive art, and Mozart exacts a higher proficiency from his singers than from any instrumentalist. From the accounts that have come down of the relentless encoring with which his public, like Sullivan's later on, interrupted the comedy we see that, Gluck and his reforms notwithstanding, what was above all relished was the singing of the songs; and it may well be that at any superior performance this was of a consistency of style and fineness beyond anything the Salzburg or Glyndebourne of our days has been able to present. That we should, after the extravagances of the vocal writing of nineteenth-century composers, have still had good and even, if rarely, some superlatively good Mozartian singing is wonder enough.

What the ideal of the eighteenth century was and the vocal art is clear to see in all the music of the age, but pre-eminently in Handel and Mozart. It was a style supremely equable and controlled, and no effect of passion or power was admissible at the expense of consistent quality of tone. As did the music itself of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, so did the representative executive art, singing, exemplify the social ideal of the age, the aristocratic age, in which superiority expressed itself in untroubled and easy stateliness of manner, apparently inborn and almost superhuman—or such was the ideal—certainly unattainable by the trading and toiling multitude. The concurrent abuses are no longer here or there, but the principal of these is illustrative. Superhuman in appearance were the manners of the aristocracy and the effect achieved of freedom from ordinary mortal cares; and superhuman in effect, if less than human in its cause, was the representative musical performance, peculiar to the time, the art which was admired above all and which was an exemplar for all ordinarily equipped singers—that, namely, of the idolized Italian castrati, a class whose extinction has meant that much of Handel's music, do what the normally equipped can with such a piece as 'Semele', has become a nearly dead letter. The grandest music of the baroque age was inspired by what must have been an incomparable vocal art—incomparable in the combination of power and mellifluousness, and angelic-seeming, so the witnesses testify, in its serenity and unearthly detachment. Singers of both sexes emulated this style, particularly of course in serious music; but the singing of merry music, too, was influenced by the ideal of sustained control, excluding all roughness and inequality. What we usually get now in the performance of a grand aria of the aristocratic period is a reversal of the original effect—an instrumental obbligato super-mundane, angelic, and then human frailty in the song. When Mozart composed for his "molto amato castrato Dal Prato" the end was nearing of the day of these emasculated singers, but their art set its seal on all his vocal music, and not there only, but on every adagio he ever wrote.

What the next age brought was an enormous exaggeration of passionate expression in vocal music, at the price of qualitative imperfection. Rossini and Verdi demanded ever more vehemence and forcefulness. The Germans were still more exorbitant. Wagner's way of representing Valhallan divinities was to charge mortal shoulders with loads unbearable. In Straussian opera the singers are Laocoöns desperately entangled and overpowered. With Schoenberg, at the end of the chapter, song becomes feline miaowing. To all these demands there was an heroic response, and it is a saying that never has an indifferent performance been known of 'Elektra' or 'Pierrot lunaire'. How admirable, then, that the style of the century of Handel and Mozart should still not have been lost sight of! Though the new age demanded of its

singers feats analogous to the exploration of Darkest Africa—so must the exactions of 'Tristan' have at first appeared—they were not all or wholly engrossed in romantic adventure.

The genius of Bach, Handel and Mozart maintained awareness in the world of another music, ideally lofty and serene, and the tradition of its vocal style survived. Forty years ago Melba's singing of "L'amerò, sarò costante" and the Zerlina songs, and Battistini's of "Non più andrai" were purely, perfectly Mozartian. Nothing of quite that pre-eminence, it is true, distinguished the new Mozartian movement between the wars; yet, if the singing was not the glory of the movement, it must be said to have been generally pleasing and sometimes beautifully fine—certainly never affected by the peculiar vocal developments required by the contemporary school of composition.

But the fact was that singing was no longer the focus of interest. It could not be, by reason, for one thing, of the very fervour of the movement. To focus endeavour on fine Mozartian singing would have been too obsequiously to tread in footprints made by the insuperable past. In the art of music there is a secondary creativeness, that of the interpreter or executant, who shares the glory of a great creative period. What he, as well as the composer, has striven for and achieved is something new, a discovery and conquest. Thus along with Handel his interpreters attained breadths of majesty never known before; Mozart's, along with him, a realm of new radiancy; Beethoven's (though here the secondary art no doubt lagged somewhat) an arena of heroic energies without example in music.

If in the new age, which was but partially and inadequately interested by its own composers, Mozart was to be called upon to meet the need, what could interpretation do that would be not unenterprising imitation or reproduction but somehow creative? One answer was found in a reconsideration of the operas and their presentation as scenic entities. There was 'Figaro'—not merely a vessel brimming with the sweetest and most sparkling music in the world, but a comedy of consummate construction, rich in characters and faultless in its intricate design. There was 'Cosi fan tutte', hardly less admirable in its different way: a slight but perfectly elegant design, marvellously illuminated and vivified by a musical invention which, all the time, observed the slightness of the proposition. More enticing still were the even more wonderful, with all their imperfections of framework, 'Don Giovanni' and 'Magic Flute'; for the very shortcomings of structure were a challenge, an occasion for ingenious persuasion and disguise, if Mozartian opera was to be presented no longer as a sort of costumed concert but a dramatic whole.

Like Beecham's productions, Edward Dent's book on Mozart's operas, published in 1913 and now being revised, came prophetically. It threw out any number of suggestions—upon the seriousness, for instance, of the content of 'The Magic Flute', which it had been the accepted thing to think of as hardly more than nonsensical pantomime, accidentally glorified by divine songs. Then there had been the Mozart productions at the Munich summer festivals, in many ways scrupulous and engaging, although rendered rather provincial-seeming from the general European point of view by the practice of translating the Italian operas into German, a language which introduces into the sound an alien element, one remarkably less compatible with the music, in point of fact, than English.

One 'Don Giovanni' of those Munich days comes back to mind, altogether more subdued in colouring than the production usually is, and for the most part suffused with moonlight. It is, indeed, an opera

of night scenes, apart from one series in the first act, though the producer inclines as a rule to counter the effect of this by the brilliant illumination of interiors. At Munich that year, so I seem to remember, brilliance was avoided, and the result was something dream-like. The characters were all rather ghostly; all, that is to say, save an exceptionally robust and earthy Leporello; and the effect was that the whole action became a dream, Leporello's dream. A typical modern ingenuity! Christopher Benn takes up the suggestion in his chapter on 'Don Giovanni', when he says that not Don Juan but Leporello is the central figure of the opera, which "may be regarded as Leporello's dream"; though he does not wholly adopt the view, or he would hardly tackle so seriously the difficulty of the chronology in the last few scenes of the second act. For what has chronology to do in a dream?

The sort of question that was debated in the days we are looking back upon arose over the conventional introduction of a couple of courtesans into the scene of Don Juan's last supper. This detail seems to have been of long standing in Germany, and it was accepted at Glyndebourne, where German influences were prevalent. Benn was too faithful an adherent of Glyndebourne to condemn it out of hand, but he mentions the objections, most forcibly put by Rouché. Don Juan is not a sultan out to recruit a harem; he is a hunter, not a collector.

A question which the reader of the general discussion may put is why, if fidelity to the composer's genius was the first of considerations, the governing principle has not been approximation to the scenic picture of his time; and it is a question to which point has been given by some of the century's productions of 'Don Giovanni', for instance, loaded with exaggerated Spanish baroque decoration, and 'The Magic Flute' transported into the aridity of a world of cubes. But if one thing more than another is irrecoverable from the past it is its theatrical practice. Fancy may play with the soft harmonies of colour produced by candle-light gleaming on eighteenth-century silk and embroidery, and see the electric brilliance of 'Figaro', in modern representation, as gaudy. But this is the electrical age, and the law would prohibit a candle-lighted Covent Garden. Not only the fierce lighting of our scenes makes demands on production unknown in the other age, but also the frame of mind of a public habitually dazzled by the new diversion of the time, the moving-picture screen. Only a generation ago, and the word "photogenic" had not been coined. It stands for something the opera house cannot leave out of account. Not only does anything much less than the glare of the screen spell dullness; but also the eye, habituated to impersonations always and eminently photogenic, is promoted to be first critic at the operatic spectacle. With what result? Our boasted Mozartian productions are less than true to their intentions. The real, the glowing radiance lies in the music, but a cold ferocity of mechanical light has to be allowed to vie with it. The ear is relegated to second place; the Juliet of Melba's maturity would to-day be judged by the appearance of her person and considered to want verisimilitude; between the claims of mature vocal art and girlish beauty there must be a compromise, and the finer singer of "Dove sono" is apt to lose the part of Rosina to the more photogenic. The beautiful Mozartian productions of the time have, in brief, been rather too highly coloured and not quite superlatively sung.

Almost inevitably, as we have seen. But Christopher Benn had a practical mind that did not go looking for *midi à quatorze heures*. He appreciated enthusiastically the brilliant achievements of Glyndebourne and the wit that went to the making of each opera a whole "convincing

to the modern audience". The reader of his book will learn of many of the problems and their solution, and will find an enhanced interest in his next attendance at a Mozart opera.

After Bagûsh I saw my friend no more. The battle broke; the scene for everyone moved westward, to Cyrenaica. One December day there came to me, lying in a hole in the sand, sick with a desert pleurisy, news of disaster. Alf Bowman, out on a mission to our garrison at the Cyrenaican oasis of Jalo, had been shot down—the Tasmanian Bowman, a lionheart of the Desert Air Force, a man whom to know was to know the spirit of valour incarnate, to know Hector. And with him in the aircraft was Christopher Benn.

Athens, December 1945.

"LA CLARTÉ FRANÇAISE" IN ORCHESTRATION

By NORMAN SUCKLING

It is increasingly plain with the passage of time that, in proportion as the twentieth century becomes more conscious of the direction of its own most significant musical evolution, it will be all the more obliged to acknowledge its indebtedness to various French masters who in their own time were generally undervalued by comparison with many of other nationalities. We can see already, for example, that Fauré was more of an harmonic pioneer than any of the post-Wagnerians or even the Russians; and it may yet be recognized that Debussy's musical architectonics indicated not so much a lack of constructive sense as an allegiance to principles of construction which in his day were usually ruled out of court merely because they were not those of the German tradition. It will also be worth our while to observe the specific contribution made by French composers of the last two or three generations to orchestral technique; for in them there is to be distinguished a sharp break with that nineteenth-century development which, beginning with the process of fusion operated on the orchestra by Beethoven and continuing through the endeavours of Berlioz towards a more intense sonority, culminated in Wagner's exploitation of instrumental colour and reached its final stage in the sheer picturesqueness of Rimsky-Korsakov. In spite of a recent remark made by Sir Thomas Beecham, speaking at Liverpool, to the effect that the orchestra had remained stationary since Berlioz, I hope to show that the example of French composers has counted, and will count, for a good deal in the orchestral development of the last seventy-five years or so, in a way notably distinct from Berlioz's own.

Their contribution, in this as in many other matters, has consisted partly in a return to methods more characteristic of the eighteenth century than of the nineteenth. In particular it has depended upon a use of instruments in such a way that they fulfil more than one at a time of the several tasks with which they may be entrusted: that their function of rendering "line", or "mass", as we call it by analogy from painting, is not separated from that of rendering "colour". The practice of comparing melody to line, harmony to mass and instrumental *timbre* to colour is doubtless an illuminating one, but it has sometimes invited the conclusion that the various "partners" of a musical under-

taking are to be severally identified more or less exclusively with one or another of these "divisions of music", and there are no works which answer less readily than those of French composers, old or modern, to such an approach.

It is for this reason that the nineteenth-century desire to "fill out" eighteenth-century scores found its most vulnerable object in French works, and that these works suffered even more from the treatment than those by contemporaries of other nations. The remark of a wit that a coach-and-four could be driven between Grétry's melodic line and his bass found a ready echo in such scholars as Mottl; and in our own day Florent Schmitt (himself at least half French) is still given to describing the texture of Rameau as "thin". As no doubt it is, by comparison even with Bach; but it would seem that neither Mottl (whose Grétry arrangements sound much more "translated", in Bottom's sense, than his Bach) nor Florent Schmitt quite understood how these French composers were accustomed to regard their thinly-spaced melodic parts as themselves fulfilling, in addition, the harmonic (or "mass") and the sonorous (or "colour") purpose. I offer this as perhaps a nearer clue to the eighteenth-century situation than Saint-Saëns's suggestion "that sensuous values, which are almost everything in modern music, count for hardly anything in the old".¹ It seems to me rather that these sensuous values were more intimately allied with the properly formal values than in the romantic age, and that they have renewed the alliance in recent times. German music on the other hand (particularly that of the Beethoven succession) has tended rather towards division of labour, and by differentiating the functions of the "partners" in a score has accustomed us to a multiplicity of texture which has had the result, among others, of deceiving us into supposing that it had more "substance" than its French rival. Weber, for example, has for this reason been commonly accepted as a composer of greater mark than Auber; and—to descend somewhat in the scale—whereas our attention cannot long be deflected even by the stage-action from the emptiness of Adolphe Adam's 'Giselle' music, we are not always so clairvoyant about the equally rapid but more opaque productions of Johann Strauss.

In support of my contention it may be noted that the French have always favoured those instruments whose special aptitude is for marking out a "line" and at the same time establishing an unmistakable "colour"—and which fulfil this purpose all the better in that they exclude *inflection* of tone, since inflexion tends to obscure both line and colour. There is for example the particular achievement of French composers in the eighteenth century with the harpsichord, that most fitting of all keyboard instruments for music whose expressiveness is inherent in its notation and in no way dependent upon sentimentality of rendering. And in more modern times there are the flute and the harp, neither of which is very amenable to inflexion; both have served as the vehicle for some of the most remarkable utterances, at once formal and sensuous, of recent French orchestral work. The harp in particular may provide something of a touchstone in orchestral matters to identify that French originality which is proving more clearly with the passage of time to be the most significant that our age has known over against the German tradition of last century and, more especially, the most significant originality yet achieved in opposition to the influence of Wagner.

When Wagner wished to draw attention to a particular orchestral *timbre* he usually placed it against an *indefinite* background; a procedure noticeable in a good deal of modern orchestration in many countries,

¹ In the preface to his edition of Rameau's harpsichord works.

but followed on the whole less in France than elsewhere, apart from avowed Wagnerians such as d'Indy and, to a lesser degree, Chausson. And in Wagner's scores the usual function of the harp is to form part of this background: for him it was essentially an *accompanying* instrument. In all orchestration of a Wagnerian allegiance, and even in much of Berlioz's, the harp is regularly used either in *glissando* or in the kind of figuration typical of "serenading" and similar writing and specifically called *arpeggiando*. Both of these uses have an accompanying rather than a thematic reference; they contribute rather to the motion than to the design of music.

Of course I am far from suggesting that French composers never use the harp in these ways; it would be easy to quote examples from Berlioz to Roussel and beyond which prove quite the contrary. But it is noteworthy that one may find in French works what is almost absent from German and especially from Wagnerian orchestration, an employment of the harp for clear-cut indications of thematic substance, which appear to me to provide an excellent illustration of *la clarté française*. Wagner's harps are often not distinctively heard; they mainly contribute figuration, and usually for not much more than figuration's sake, to an amalgamated surge of symphonic sound. Whereas even Berlioz, who indeed does not use his band *en masse* quite as often as one supposes from his reputation—fond though he was of battering at his audience's ears—sometimes conforms to the model of French clarity, for example by making his harp share a line with the wood-wind ('Symphonie fantastique', II):



Franck's harp in the *Symphony* illustrates a parallel matter, for it appears only in places where it assumes especial prominence: in the B flat minor passage at the beginning of the second movement, in the echo of the same passage during the finale, and nowhere else except in the equally clearly distinguishable "epilogue" entry, as Sir Arnold Bax would have labelled it, which heralds the summing-up of the last few pages. Franck was doubtless helped to this treatment of the harp, as of various other instruments, by his conception of scoring in terms of "registration".

By the time we arrive at Debussy we are bound to observe how the harp, like other instruments of a tenuous tone, is regularly audible and thematically significant in his orchestration, in spite of the fact that his band is often of more than Wagnerian size; he calls for sixteen first violins and other strings in proportion, but not, like Berlioz, for two or three harps to double each other in one part. He will echo a harp figure in the flute ('*La Mer*', II):



or, alternatively, a flute line in the harp, and in this latter case will emphasize the thematic affinity of the harp's answer by marking it *un peu en dehors* ('Pelléas et Mélisande', Act II, Interlude Sc. ii-iii):

Ex. 3

Flute

W.W.

Harp ("pp mais un peu en dehors")

C.B.

He will sometimes give a motive to flute and harp in unison ('Nuages'):

Ex. 4

this, by the way, in the course of a work where, in spite of its title, the writing is so far from being "cloudy" in the obvious sense that the theme is made to die away in the sharp-edged tones of two bassoons followed by a solo violoncello (*ibid.*):

Ex. 5 Fag. V'cello

and concluded by a solitary flute, where even the practice of his own pianoforte works might lead us to expect sonorities of a more "muted" and "hazy" kind. And he will employ a harp not merely to support but to give a lead to the voices of a wordless choir ('Sirènes'):

Ex. 6

Harp

Sopr.

Mezz.

Str.

A passage akin to these is to be found in the Prelude of Fauré's 'Pelléas et Mélisande' music, which of course was orchestrated by his pupil Charles Koechlin, but is no less appropriate an illustration of French scoring for that. Here the harp has, unsupported, an important counterpoint:



which has proved a pitfall for executants unused to the French way of treating the orchestra; the gramophone record of this work by Kussevisky and the Boston Symphony Orchestra obscures this counterpoint almost completely, perhaps by the use of too large a body of players as well as by inadequate direction to the harpist—Koechlin's scoring, for a small theatre band, is more faithfully rendered on another record for which the conductor was Albert Wolff. In this connection it is interesting to note the increasing tendency of French composers to write for small bands, and specifically for "orchestras of soloists"—Poulenc's 'Aubade' and Milhaud's 'Création du Monde' are cases in point—and to balance them against tenuous but penetrating tones like that of the harpsichord, as in Poulenc's Concerto for that instrument.

By induction from these various examples we may establish, I think, as characteristically French the practice of giving a thematic and not merely an accompanying function to as many elements of the orchestra as possible; and, conversely, of intensifying the thematic reference of phrases by entrusting them to instruments of a clear-cut sonority, as in this from Debussy ('La Mer', I):



where perhaps even Ravel, whose orchestration has the effect of sounding more Russian than French, would give a similar phrase to the hazier tones of massed strings ('Daphnis et Chloé'):



The procedure is carried a little farther by later composers such as Roussel, who not only uses the harp as an essential element in his harmonic as well as his rhythmic scheme ('Le Festin de l'araignée'):

Ex. 10

Flute

Harp

Str. pizz. & muted Horns

This musical score for Ex. 10 consists of three staves. The top staff is for the Flute, the middle for the Harp, and the bottom for the String ensemble (pizzicato) and muted Horns. The music is in 3/4 time and features a complex, interwoven texture with many accidentals and slurs.

but will employ so unlikely a soloist as the piccolo in a way that acknowledges no nineteenth-century ancestry except Bizet (*ibid.*):

Ex. 11

Piccolo

Bassoon

Str. pizz.

This musical score for Ex. 11 consists of three staves. The top staff is for the Piccolo, the middle for the Bassoon, and the bottom for the String ensemble (pizzicato). The music is in 3/4 time and features a complex, interwoven texture with many accidentals and slurs.

And in conclusion I may perhaps supplement a previous reference to Poulenc by quoting a passage from his 'Aubade':

Ex. 12

Ob.

Fag.

This musical score for Ex. 12 consists of two staves. The top staff is for the Oboe (Ob.) and the bottom for the Bassoon (Fag.). The music is in 3/4 time and features a complex, interwoven texture with many accidentals and slurs.

where the prominence of the bassoon entry, both in harmony and in curious line, typifies once for all that aptitude of French musicians, which it has been the purpose of my article to illustrate, in making a very telling texture out of a very few elements by obliging each of them to subserve more than one function in the total effect.

THE PRINCE REGENT'S BAND

BY ADAM CARSE

In the evening the new Music-room was lighted and the band played, both magnificent—the band rather *bruyant*, and the music better heard from the next room in my opinion. (From 'The Croker Papers', relating to the Pavilion at Brighton, December 1818.)

THE biographers of George IV and many contemporary diarists, memoir- and letter-writers gave him credit for a considerable natural musical gift, and for the interest he took in furthering, patronizing and encouraging musical effort during his lifetime (1762–1830). What gift he had was no doubt inherited from both parents, for George III was a keen admirer and upholder of Handel's music, and Queen Charlotte played the harpsichord "in a superior style", even though that style was qualified by Haydn's more guarded remark that she played "tolerably well for a queen".

Although his father's taste did not go much beyond Handel, the Prince of Wales extended his liking to the works of Haydn, Mozart, Cherubini and Beethoven, and later in life even to such modern composers as Rossini and Meyerbeer.

If the general historians did not take his musical gifts very seriously at a time when all royalty was expected to patronize music, musicians of the period were perhaps rather liable to overstate their case when describing the prince's musical gift, more especially when they were in a position to benefit materially by his influence and favour. William T. Parke, the oboe player and garrulous although not particularly accurate writer of 'Memoirs' (1830), who never missed an opportunity of toadying to royalty, credited the prince with being "an accomplished musician", a "good timeist", with having a "refined" musical taste and that highly-rated "scientific" musical knowledge about which Burney and his successors were always writing. An anonymous writer in the 'Quarterly Musical Magazine' (1818)¹ said that the Prince Regent was a good "practical musician", that he had "a very extensive knowledge and a very sound taste", and in support of his view asserted that "there is scarcely a note played by his band that His Royal Highness is not able to anticipate". Another contemporary estimate stated that "he was not only a musician among princes, but a prince among musicians".

In his earlier years at Kew, and later at Carlton House, the prince played the violoncello, so well, indeed, that "few amateurs could equal him". His teacher was John Crosdill, the most famous cello player of his time in this country, and so rapid was his progress that, according to Parke, after one year's tuition he was able to play in concerted pieces with the best professional musicians, with Cramer, Crosdill, Salomon, Shield, the two Parkes, or even with such stars as Viotti and Giornovich. Private instrumental concerts were often held "by command" at Carlton House, in which other royal musicians sometimes joined, the Duke of Cambridge and the Duke of Cumberland playing respectively the violin and the flute. But long before his accession the prince was obliged to give up playing the cello owing to an injury to his right arm.

¹ Possibly the editor, Mr. R. M. Bacon of Norwich.

Almost throughout his whole life he seems to have taken the greatest pleasure in singing. He had a bass voice "of good compass" which has been variously described as "particularly good" (*Quar. Mus. Mag.*), "of fine quality" (Croly), "not particularly distinguished" (Fulford) and "not good" (Croker). It was the period of glees and catches, and after dinner in the Pavilion at Brighton members of the royal party or anyone else who could sing were required to join in trios or quartets with their host, who, as Croker said, rarely left the vicinity of the pianoforte during the evening. Professional vocalists from the Chapel Royal or from the opera at the King's Theatre were sometimes brought to perform at family concerts both at Carlton House and the Pavilion, at which the prince did not appear to be at all reluctant to measure his own vocal skill against that of the highly-trained professional singers. He was evidently musician enough to be able to read his part, although Croker (who was no musician) had doubts about this, and said that the prince "did not sing so much from the notes as from recollection".

The prince was undoubtedly a better musician than he was a financier. Perhaps it could hardly be expected that anyone in such an exalted position, and so deeply in debt as he always was, should ever condescend to let his mind dwell for a moment on such a sordid matter as the payment expected for their services by the professional musicians. In 1795, the year of his marriage, when the liquidation of the prince's debts was under consideration by the commission appointed for that purpose by Parliament, John Parke (the elder) sent in a claim for £500 for services rendered, and eventually received that amount—less ten per cent. The younger Parke also put in a claim covering seven years' service, but subsequently withdrew it because he considered it was not "a delicate mode of acting", and was quite confident that, "knowing the liberality of the prince's disposition", he would not be the loser thereby; here, however, he made a miscalculation, for in the end he got nothing. Griesbach, the German oboe player, when he felt nervous about his fees, was not so "delicate". He took the very unusual and vulgar course of writing a letter direct to the prince with a request for the cash due to him, and was generally satisfied.

Apart from his active participation in music, whether as Prince of Wales, Prince Regent or King of England, George IV gave his immediate patronage to almost every musical institution in London. The Concert of Antient Musick, the Philharmonic Society, the Italian Opera in the Haymarket, the Royal Society of Musicians, the Royal Academy of Music, the large-scale Handel performances in Westminster Abbey and elsewhere, as well as the big provincial festivals and innumerable private concert-givers, could generally count on the support and patronage of the music-loving prince, and thereby gain the status and prestige that was almost indispensable for the success of any such undertaking at a time when snobbery was rampant and nothing could be expected to flourish without the patronage of the "quality" and *haut-ton*. Nor should it be forgotten that it was the Prince of Wales who sent Thomas Attwood to Italy and Vienna to complete his musical education and eventually made him organist of the private chapel at the Brighton Pavilion. For all his bad qualities, it cannot be denied that the "First Gentleman in Europe" was a good friend of art and culture, and that even if the effect of his musical patronage has long passed away, there still remain some of his stately buildings and the collections of pictures, books, furniture and objects of art with which he filled the royal residences.

But if his cello-playing, glee-singing, private musical parties and

public concert-going occupied much of his leisure, there can be little doubt that the apple of his eye in matters musical was the prince's own Private Band.

This was entirely his own personal affair, and should not be confused with the State or King's Band, which was administered by the Lord Chamberlain. Although it still existed in name, the official King's Band, under the direction of the Master of the King's Musick,² had become a nominal body consisting of about twenty-four "musicians in ordinary" many of whom could not play upon any instrument and were quite innocent of any musical knowledge. Membership of this band was in the gift of the Lord Chamberlain and was bestowed by his interest or favour on his friends or their butlers, valets or other servants, and according to Parke, at one time included a huntsman and a city alderman. On the few annual occasions when the band was required to play, for the New Year's ode and one or two birthday odes, the non-playing members paid professional deputies to play for them, and were still able to make a profit out of the forty or fifty pounds paid to them annually.³

But there were no sinecurists in the Prince's Band.

First known as the Prince of Wales' Private Band, then as the Prince Regent's Band (1811-1820) and finally as the King's Household Band (1820-1830), it was composed entirely of picked skilled musicians, selected without regard for nationality from any source where good wind players were to be found.

The band of the 10th Hussars, of which regiment the prince was honorary colonel, formed the original basis of the organization, and if Parke can be trusted, it originated soon after the prince's marriage in 1795, that is, when he was in his middle thirties and already had a full establishment at Carlton House, but before the Pavilion at Brighton had begun the process of developing into the pretentious oriental palace which it eventually became. The band was a combination of reed, flute, brass and percussion instruments, in fact what we now call a "military" band, even though it is entirely unconnected with any of the services.

The evolution of the military band made great strides during the period from about 1760 to 1840, during which time by a process of accretion it grew from an insignificant little group of oboes, horns and bassoons into the large and serviceable body it had become by the middle of last century. The most important landmarks in this development were (a) the advent of the clarinet, from about the sixties; (b) the gain of a more substantial bass part by the use of serpents, and the addition of trombones just before the close of the eighteenth century; (c) the appearance of the keyed brass instruments, notably the keyed bugle, and subsequently the ophicleide, in the second and third decades of the nineteenth century; and finally (d) the use of valved brass instruments from about 1830. The use of the so-called Turkish Music, *i.e.* bass drums, cymbals, triangles, &c., had already begun before the end of the eighteenth century. Thus the prince's band was able to benefit by all these additions except that of the valved brass instruments, for it came to an end with the king's death in 1830, the very year in which valved instruments are known to have first reached this country.

The constitution of the band in 1818 was given in the 'Quarterly Musical Magazine',⁴ when it was said to be "esteemed the finest in

² Sir William Parsons from 1786 and William Shield from 1817 to 1820.

³ For many years Parke himself deputized for "Lord Somebody's" butler. This system was evidently still maintained in early Victorian times, when Mrs. Anderson (a pianist and wife of G. F. Anderson, Master of the Queen's Musick) held the position of trumpeter to the queen.

⁴ Vol. I, No. 2, p. 158.

Europe", and its headquarters was at the now fully-established Pavilion at Brighton. The instrumentation was as follows:

8 clarinets	3 serpents (<i>ripieno</i>)
2 oboes	4 trombones (soprano, alto, tenor and bass)
3 flutes	4 horns
4 bassoons	4 trumpets
1 serpent (<i>obbligato</i>)	Kettledrums
Total—34 players.	

This would make a quite well-balanced combination, even though it rather favoured the brass, especially when it is understood that of the four trumpet players at least two would play upon keyed bugles, which, as will be shown later, was almost certainly the case. The keyed bugle came as a boon and a blessing to all military bands and provided what they had hitherto so badly lacked, that was, a melody-playing brass voice in the all-important soprano register. The old natural trumpet was too deficient in its scale to undertake that important function, and even the English slide trumpet (then used in this country) could not be used as a melodist with anything like the ease, certainty and flexibility of the keyed bugle.

A very unusual feature in the above list is the soprano trombone. The real soprano of this type, pitched an octave higher than the tenor in B \flat , has never been in general use at any period or in any country, either in military bands or orchestras. Yet it is specified in the Prince Regent's band and, moreover, it appeared under the rather mystifying name of "canto" in some of the orchestra lists at some English provincial musical festivals between 1820 and 1833,⁵ when the trombone and serpent players were often supplied by the King's Household Band. It may be that it is only a question of nomenclature, and that the word "canto" refers to a part rather than to an instrument.

Another and presumably a later specification of the band appeared in the 'Musical World' in 1855, and was taken from an earlier number of the 'Brighton Gazette'; this, under the title 'The Band of George the Fourth', gave the following instrumentation:

12 clarinets	2 basset horns	4 bass trombones
3 oboes	4 horns	2 (alto and tenor) trombones
3 flutes	4 trumpets	2 drums
4 bassoons	2 serpents	
Total—42 players.		

Noteworthy are the increased number of clarinets, the addition of basset horns and the excessive number of bass trombones. The proportion of woodwind to brass instruments has risen in favour of the former in this last list, the serpents are in reduced strength and the soprano trombone has gone.

It may be that there still exists among some forgotten royal records a list of the names of the players in this once famous band. Failing the discovery of some such document, it is possible to reconstruct only to some extent the personnel of the band from scattered material found in contemporary periodicals and books.

As in most English military bands of that period, the names of the players show a large preponderance of Germans. The bandmaster was Christian Kramer, a Hanoverian and pupil of the composer Winter. The date of his birth is unrecorded, but, on the authority of Pohl, he died in 1834. Most modern musical dictionaries ignore this musician,

⁵ The "canto" trombone figures in the programmes of the Birmingham Festival in 1820, the York Festival in 1823 and the Norwich Festivals in 1830 and 1833.

who was entirely unconnected with the well-known Cramer family of which there were several members resident in and prominent in the musical life of London during the reigns of the last two Georges. Kramer could play on all wind instruments, but excelled on the flute and clarinet, and was credited with having added a complete key-system and improvements in the size and distribution of the note-holes on the serpent. He was an original Associate of the Philharmonic Society (1813) and played the clarinet at some of the early concerts of that society, and (as a sideline) kept a china and glass shop in North Street, Brighton.⁶

The duty of a bandmaster in those days did not end with the training and direction of the band; he had to arrange *all* the music. No arrangements were published, and the constitution of no two bands was the same: so it was left to each bandmaster to make arrangements to suit his own band. Kramer was reputed a musician of the "first order" and especially skilled in making arrangements of all kinds of music—classical symphonies, popular overtures, oratorio choruses, glees, songs and so on:

From the most delicate song to the magnificent symphonies of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven, and even the grandest of Handel chorusses, he has preserved the bearing of each class throughout in their pristine beauty and design, and with so nice an attention to the particular cast of expression appertaining to each instrument, that he has left nothing to be desired. Those are the daily services rendered to the Prince and to music by Mr. Kramer.⁷

From the 'Brighton Gazette' we learn that 300 books of parts were nightly placed in boxes beside the stands which were of solid mahogany, and also, incidentally, that Kramer, like the prince, was a sufferer from gout.

A less creditable arrangement by Kramer was his mutilation of 'The Seraglio' for Covent Garden in 1827, for which, as Parke said, *part of the music* was taken from Mozart's 'Entführung aus dem Serail', to which, according to the 'Harmonicon', Kramer added a considerable quantity of his own composing.

As a bandmaster Kramer was evidently highly competent:

It is impossible to exaggerate the perfection to which this band has been brought by the science and unremitting attention of Mr. Kramer. Their performance of arranged scores is inexpressibly fine, and their accompaniment is not less chaste, subdued and beautiful.⁸

The 'Harmonicon', too, extolled his skill both as trainer of the band and arranger of the music:

Mr. Christopher [sic] Kramer, the master of the King's most extraordinary and perfect band of wind instruments, in which office he has shewn talents of the highest order, both for arranging music for such an orchestra, and in directing the performance of it so as to produce effects unparalleled by any other military band.⁹

But it can have been no easy job serving a king who was musical and noticed everything, even when a trumpet part was missing owing to the player (John Distin) having a sore lip, and who had his own ideas in the matter of *tempi*. In his 'Journals'¹⁰ Sir George Smart tells how he once asked Kramer how it was that he was always able to satisfy the king with his *tempi* in the Haydn symphonies; Kramer's answer was: "His Majesty always beats the time to every movement. I watch him and beat the same time to the band". The plight of a conductor who was obliged to pick up the beat from his employer and transmit it to the band was certainly a trying one, but Kramer's case was not unique; a similar

⁶ Bishop, 'The Brighton Pavilion', p. 170.

⁷ 'Quar. Mus. Mag.', 1818, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 159.

⁸ *Ibid.* 1822, Vol. IV, No. 14, p. 240.

⁹ 'Harmonicon', Dec. 1827, p. 249.

¹⁰ p. 57.

situation existed at Darmstadt, where the conductor at the opera, Mangold, had to sit sideways in the orchestra so that he could see the Grand Duke beating the time in his box. By no means the least of Kramer's responsibilities was finding good players for the band. He was often sent to Germany to look for outstanding executants, and search was made everywhere in this country, even in French prisoner-of-war camps. One of his finds was Eisert, who was discovered in prison, who turned out to be the finest clarinet player in the band and eventually became a member of Queen Victoria's Private Band in 1837.

A player who merits some attention was the trumpeter Johann Georg Schmidt, born at Erfurt in 1774, who came to London in 1800 and was employed for some years at the King's Theatre in the Haymarket. He was said to be "the best trumpeter in Europe", and, if trumpeting can be measured by quantity of sound, seems to have deserved that appellation, for "his flourish was the most terrific and appalling thing ever heard from a musical instrument". No wonder Croker found the music at Brighton rather *bruyant* and preferred to hear it from an adjoining room. Schmidt had another claim to distinction besides his terrific blast: he invented some improvement on Halliday's keyed bugle (1810), and in compliment to his royal employer called it the Regent's Bugle.¹¹ Schmidt played a trumpet concerto at the opening fête in 1807 at Vauxhall Gardens, and was "greatly applauded"; in 1815 he was playing at the Oratorio Concerts in Covent Garden theatre, but on the occasion when he essayed playing a tune called 'Crazy Jane' on the trumpet he was less successful and evidently did not please one critical auditor, who wrote to the 'Quar. Mus. Magazine': "It produced much the same effect upon my mind as I conceive it would to hear 'The Young May Moon' upon the serpent". Schmidt played at the Worcester Festival in 1809, and up to about 1820 he performed at the concerts in the Music Room at Oxford. After that time his name disappears, but as he was a "Professional Subscriber" to the Royal Society of Musicians in 1818 it may be assumed that he was provided for in his old age.

Another trumpeter of some distinction was John Distin (1798-1863).¹² His instruments were the English slide trumpet and the keyed bugle; in fact, he claimed that but for a most unfortunate accident he *would have been* the inventor of the latter instrument. That both Schmidt and Distin were performers on the keyed bugle lends strong support to the supposition that this instrument was used in the prince's band.¹³ Distin had graduated in the band of the South Devon Militia, passed on as solo keyed bugler in the Grenadier Guards band and was present with the band of that regiment when the allies occupied Paris after the battle of Waterloo. When the king's band was dismissed in 1830, John Distin, after spending some months in London as an orchestral player and a few years in Scotland as a bandmaster, with his four sons founded the famous quintet of brass instruments known as the Distin Family, which from about 1836 until the early fifties toured all over Great Britain, as well as in France, Belgium, Germany, the United States and Canada.

But the real "lion" of the band was evidently F. André, the serpent player. The accent is generally omitted in his name, but it may be presumed that he was of French descent, although it was said that he served in the prince's band as a boy and remained in it to the end.

Ordinary serpent players were content to growl out a bass part on

¹¹ Halliday's instrument was called the Kent Bugle in compliment to the Duke of Kent.

¹² These dates are according to Henry Distin, the second son of John Distin; some biographical dictionaries state that he was born in 1793.

¹³ Henry Distin stated that his father was appointed "trumpet player and solo bugle player in George IV's band".

their awkward instrument; not so André—he had higher aspirations. He was a soloist, a virtuoso on the serpent. His great *tour de force* was the performance on the serpent of one of Corelli's sonatas, the same that the great Dragonetti played on his double-bass; indeed, in the 'Musical World' it was written: "This professor is fully as extraordinary a player on the serpent as Dragonetti on the double-bass". The programme of one of the City Amateur Concerts on December 16th 1819 includes the following item: "Sonata, arranged by Kramer, with orchestral accompaniment and Serpano obligato, Mr. Andra, of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent's Band . . . Corelli". The great double-bass player himself applauded and complimented André when in later years he heard him perform the Corelli Sonata at Cheltenham. André's name occurs in many programmes of orchestral concerts and provincial festivals, and in 1842 he was still described as "unquestionably the *first* serpent player".

When the king's band was broken up in 1830 André appears to have gone to Cheltenham as a member of the Montpellier Band, but in 1837 he was back at Windsor in Queen Victoria's Private Band. He appeared at the Three Choirs Festivals up to 1853 and eventually died at Gloucester, where in the evening of his days he kept a public-house and no doubt treated his customers to an occasional tune on the serpent.

The three "most efficient" trombone players in the Prince Regent's Band all bore unmistakably Teutonic names—Albrecht, Schneider and Behrens. The first of these became an orchestral player in London and played the bass trombone at the Opera, the Ancient Concert, the Philharmonic and at most provincial festivals during the thirties and forties. The case of Louis Schneider was rather unfortunate: he was brought over from Germany in 1828 to play in the band which ceased to exist in 1830. Although he found a place later on in Queen Victoria's band, he was said to have died in poverty in 1854, leaving five children unprovided for.

J. G. Waetzig, the first bassoon, must have been a fairly young man when he first joined the band, for, after being in Queen Victoria's band, he was still playing at festivals and in the Philharmonic orchestra during the sixties, and was for some time bandmaster of a Guards regiment.

A few more rather shadowy figures can be cited. The brothers Rehn, a pair of horn players who were described as being "celebrated", evidently belonged to the early days of the band; then a later pair of horn-playing brothers¹⁴ with the British name of Hardy, who eventually reappeared in Queen Victoria's band and were designated "clever performers". An oboe player named Malsch, who played in some London and festival orchestras already during the thirties, and was in the Philharmonic orchestra in the fifties and sixties, could hardly be the oboist of the same name that many musicians now living quite well remember in the London orchestras of about fifty years ago, but was possibly his father.

Another member of the band was a Mr. Kirchner, who told how once on a cold evening the players amused themselves during the refreshment interval by playing leap-frog in the corridor. When leaping over his back one of the players mischievously removed Kirchner's wig, and stuffing it into his pocket rushed back into the orchestra. Kramer was unable to start the band playing again without Kirchner and had to explain to His Majesty that the delay was caused by the absence of Kirchner who dared not appear without his wig.

¹⁴ There have been many instances of horn-playing brothers, notably the brothers Leander, Lang, Petrides, Gügel, Böck, Haase, &c.

Other names of men who played in George IV's band flit about rather vaguely in the musical literature of the period. Spellerberg the oboist, Michel the clarinettist, Krone the bassoonist, Schroeder the hornist, Garmann the trumpeter, another Waetzig and another André, presumably brothers or in some way kin to the bassoon and serpent players already mentioned: these, like many other orchestral players and bandsmen, came and went, leaving little or no trace behind them, although they were probably quite as good musicians and quite as useful to the community as many of the singers and composers of the same period whose names are still preserved in our musical dictionaries.

Probably the happiest time for the band was during the Regency (1811-1820), when they were settled at Brighton. The prince was also happiest there, and in the new music room which emerged as part of the ever-expanding Pavilion during the second decade of the century he loved to show off with pride the paces of his pet musical toy to his friends, the political intriguers and the constant stream of visitors who are always attracted by a lavish court, a hospitable host and the joys of basking in the sunshine of royal favour.

All the players in the band were personally known to the prince; they wore an elaborate uniform covered with gold lace, and the trumpets and drums were of solid silver. The new music room at the Pavilion was added in 1817; it was an oblong apartment 62 feet long by 42 feet wide and recessed at both ends, with a ceiling 41 feet high which culminated in a central dome. At the back of the northern recess, in which the band played, an organ by Lincoln was erected in 1818. Richly and fantastically decorated with Chinese dragons and eastern designs, the room must have presented a picturesque and animated if somewhat garish picture when the royal party entered it after dinner and the royal host selected the pieces to be played for his guests' entertainment.

Rossini spent three days with George IV at Brighton in December 1823, and the band played Kramer's arrangement of the overture to 'La gazza ladra' and a selection from 'Il barbiere'. Perhaps they also played to him their star piece, Kramer's arrangement of Beethoven's fifth Symphony, or Mozart's "Jupiter" and E♭ Symphonies.

The band practised daily from 11 till 1 in the morning when the Regent was away, but when the court was at Brighton they played from 9 till 11 in the evening, and were given supper and a pint of wine. According to the story of William Gutteridge (1798-1872), a Brighton musician who had been a member of the band, when the allowance of wine was withdrawn for some time and ale was substituted, the prince thought he detected a want of spirit in their playing, and on inquiring what was the reason for this, was told by Kramer that it must be because the wine had been stopped; after that the players were given their usual allowance of wine.

The annual cost of the band was said to be between six and seven thousand pounds—a mere trifle to anyone who was at one time in debt to the extent of nearly £650,000.

When George became king in 1820 the band was moved to Windsor. When the rather harassed monarch sought quiet and seclusion in the Royal Lodge in Windsor Park, the band was stationed in the conservatory of that house, and when he went fishing on Virginia Water the band was there in a boat moored not far off, while the king and his party in the royal barge fished to the sound of sweet music.

The band took part in the coronation of George IV in Westminster Abbey and played at the subsequent banquet. Mrs. Kramer, wife of the conductor, who had been unable to secure a ticket of admission to

the Abbey, succeeded in gaining admittance by walking in the middle of the band, attired in court dress, through the streets and into the Abbey.

Not long after the death of George IV it was announced in the 'Harmonicon' that his private band, forty strong, had been paid off. Writing in the same year, Parke had opined that "rising genius" would be inconsolable at the loss of the king "did they not feel assured of experiencing the same benign patronage from his successor, King William IV". The Rev. George Croly, one of George IV's early biographers, expressed the pious hope that his present majesty had "too much taste to dispense with a set of performers that would be an ornament to any court in Europe". The benign patronage that Parke counted on was, however, only rather sparingly given, nor did the new king exhibit quite the taste with which Croly had credited him; in his businesslike way the sailor king found a much more economical way of entertaining his court at Windsor after dinner—by employing one of the Guards' bands to play "every night, who are ready to die of it, for they get no pay and are prevented earning money elsewhere".¹⁵

Some of the band were pensioned or given gratuities; some of the old Germans went back to Brighton and formed a sort of town band of their own. Some found employment in the queen dowager's band, and about a dozen eventually reappeared in Queen Victoria's Private Band. On being dismissed the musicians of the famous old band were ordered to return their handsome uniforms, which, being heavily coated with gold lace, had cost 75 guineas each. But, "through the instrumentality of John Distin the Lord Chamberlain withdrew the demand for the coats", and the canny John at once sold the gold from his coat for 25 guineas.¹⁶

Since the death of George IV no other British sovereign has maintained a private band on the same scale or with the same close interest in it. Queen Victoria's Private Band of twenty-four players was eventually turned into a small orchestra by the Prince Consort, and when in the course of time that organization finally disappeared it was the demise of a royal musical establishment that reached back through the centuries, back to Charles's "four-and-twenty fiddlers", and still farther back to the later Middle Ages, when the kings and queens of England graced their courts with the music of Flutes, Shalmes, Sackebutts, Fyffes, Trompys and Dromones.

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 'The Greville Diary', ed. Wilson, 1927.
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 Pohl, 'Mozart und Haydn in London', 1867.
 'The Quarterly Musical Magazine', 'The Harmonicon', 'The Musical World',
 'The Brighton Gazette', 'The Brighton Herald', 'The Illustrated London News',
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¹⁵ 'The Greville Diary', ed. Wilson, I, p. 271.

¹⁶ 'The British Bandsman', March 1880, p. 132.

A CHECK-LIST OF BEETHOVEN'S CHAMBER MUSIC—III

BY DONALD W. MACARDLE

76. Quintet in G major for Flute, Violin, Two Violas and Violoncello, arranged from Sonata for Pianoforte and Violin Op. 30 No. 3 (#12) and published as "Op. 85." (Note that this opus number is properly used to indicate the oratorio 'Christus am Ölberge', published October 1811 [TK II 210].) H-256. H says: "An arrangement of the Vln Sonata Op. 30 No. 3 for Fl, Vln, 2 Vla and Vcl was published in 1810" (records of the firm of Breitkopf & Härtel are said to show the date June 1811) "as Op. 85 by J. F. Spehr at Brunswick. Aubell ['Die Flöte in der Kammermusik,' special supplement to the 'Obersteirische Volkszeitung' (Leoben), No. 26, March 5th 1925, which the compiler of this List has been unable to consult] thinks that the arrangement was made by B", and H indicates his agreement with its authenticity by including it in his list. In a later publication, however, ('Neues B-Jahrbuch' 9 [1939] 79) he states that in the opinion of Georg Kinsky (who, if only on the strength of certain unpublished writings which the compiler of this List has been privileged to see, may be considered as in the first rank of contemporary B scholars) Aubell's contention was definitely not to be accepted. NV (p. 34) lists an arrangement for these same instruments, but issued by another publisher, without comment as to whose work it was. Frimmel ('B-Handbuch' II 47) remarks that the transcription might have been by B, by Ries or by brother Karl. As regards the choice of instruments for this arrangement, see last paragraph of #5 *supra*.

77. Quintet in E flat major for Oboe, Three Horns and Bassoon. H-30; P-80. H says: "Pages are missing at the beginning and the end, but the middle section is complete. This is obviously identical with TV-282, 'Incomplete Sextet for Ob, Cl, 3 Hrn, Bsn' in the former Artaria Collection." (P [1921] said that the autograph was at Bonn; H [1937] in Berlin.) "It is true that the score provides a space for a part (not written out) for B flat clarinet: time and key signatures are inserted, but not a single note.

"In 1862 it was published in a version completed by Zellner." This version is not listed in Altmann's 'Kammermusik-Katalog'. "Zellner's additions concerned chiefly the broadly constructed first movement, of which the Exposition and most of the Development are missing." TK (I 206) said that "the beginning of the first movement is lacking, but can be supplied from the repetition in the second part. Zellner added about 150 measures, very skillfully imitating B's style and utilizing the themes which were available. The second movement, a veritable jewel of chamber-music delicacy, appeared in full in the manuscript, but the third movement broke off after the nineteenth measure, so that no idea can be formed of its original content." P assigns this work to "1795?"; Prieger ('Zu B's Bläser-Quintett') says: "From internal and external indications it seems probable that the work was composed in 1798-1802, with the adagio dating from a somewhat earlier period."

78. Quintet in E flat major for Two Violins, Two Violas and Violoncello, based on (though not a literal transcription of) Wind Octet

Op. 103 (#92), Op. 4. GA Ser. 5 No. 36. TV-38; P-65. See #47. A comparison of the opening measures of Op. 4 and Op. 103 would lead to the assumption that the Quintet is an arrangement of the Octet, which quite certainly was composed first. Altmann ('Die Musik' 1 [1902] No. 12, p. 1097) compares the two to show that they are quite distinct compositions, with the Quintet stemming from the Octet. "While the principal themes are the same, the subsidiary themes of the Octet are in most cases replaced by new ones in the Quintet. Moreover, the character of stringed instruments is taken into account by the addition of numerous ornaments and much passage-work; on the other hand, the passages in the finale written specifically for Hrn are omitted. Since B chose not to publish the Octet, [which appeared only posthumously] he surely wished the Quintet to be considered as an independent work, and the revision was for that purpose." A comparison of the two works in even greater detail was made by Orel ('Zeitschr. für Musikwissenschaft' 3 [1920] 159-79).

TK (I 144) refers to the Quintet as "now proved to belong to the Bonn period"; i.e., not later than 1792. Elsewhere (I 204), however, he says: "The origin of the Quintet can be placed anywhere in the period from 1792 (when the Octet was probably begun) to the beginning of 1797, when the Quintet was advertised as 'wholly new'. There is a clue in the Wegeler anecdote", quoted above in connection with the String Trio Op. 3 (#36), to the effect that two attempts to write a string quartet to carry out a commission accepted in 1795 resulted in the String Trio Op. 3 and the Quintet Op. 4¹⁷. "There is not sufficient evidence to reject the story so far as it affects the Quintet . . . and from its structure it might well be argued that the composition was undertaken as a quartet and expanded into a quintet in the composer's hands. If Count Appony's [*sic*] commission was given in 1795, the date of the completion of the Quintet may be set down as 1796."

Altmann (*loc. cit.*) makes the TK argument a little more definite by pointing out that the Scherzo of the Quintet includes a second Trio which does not appear in the Octet, and in which Vla II is silent, and continues: "Thus this Trio is for String Quartet. Perhaps Wegeler's story is not wrong." Wedig ('Veröffentlichungen des B-Hauses in Bonn' 2 [1922] 14) disagrees, saying that it is hardly to be expected that B would make his first onslaught on the string quartet problem in so casual a way, without the urge of inner necessity.

L (p. 449) was perhaps the first writer to compare the two works for the purpose of pointing out the differences. His brief analysis ends with the sound conclusion: "This example proves more than any other how important it is to be circumspect as regards posthumous works by B."

TK's conflicting statements as to date of composition—(1) that the Quintet has been "proved to belong to the Bonn period", and thus to be not later than 1792, and (2) that "the date of the completion of the Quintet may be set down as 1796"—have been cited above. P gives 1795; Frimmel ('B-Handbuch' II 46), 1796; C (II 518), 1797. TK and NV agree that the work was published in February 1797. Actually however, this was the date of announcement of the Quintet; publication had taken place in the spring of 1796. The score was published during the autumn of 1829.

79. Quintet in C major for Two Violins, Two Violas and Violoncello, Op. 29. GA Ser. 5 No. 34. TV-85. G (I 278-79) says that composition was under way in 1800 and that the work was completed

¹⁷ MR (p. 95) remarks: "Wegeler apparently did not know of the existence of the Wind Octet Op. 103."

in 1801. MR (p. 95) states that the autograph is inscribed "Quintet by LvB, 1801."

MR says that a private performance of this work took place at B's lodgings on November 14th 1802, but that there is no record of the date of the first public performance.

The Quintet was announced in October 1802 and published in December 1802; as pointed out by MR (*loc. cit.*), the statement in NV that publication was a year earlier is incorrect. The score was published in 1828.

NB (I 3) and many other books on the life and works of B give an account of his difficulties with a pirated edition of this Quintet.

80. Quintet in C minor for Two Violins, Two Violas and Violoncello, arranged from Piano Trio Op. 1 No. 3 (#43), Op. 104. GA Ser. 5 No. 36a. M says of this work: "B's last arrangement . . . his only important work during the relatively barren year 1817, stands, so to speak, as a synthesis of the several previous arrangements of chamber music." TK (II 374) quotes Dehn in giving a story which altogether takes this work out of the class of just another arrangement. "A musician, whose name is not mentioned, brought to B the Pf Trio Op. 1 No. 3 which he had arranged for string quintet. Though the composer, no doubt, found much to criticize in the transcription, it seems to have interested him sufficiently to lead him to undertake a thorough remodelling of the score, on the cover of which he wrote the whimsical title:

Arrangement of a Terzett as a
3-voiced Quintet
by Mr. Goodwill
and from the appearance of 5 voices
brought to the light of day in 5 real voices
and lifted from the most abject misery
to moderate respectability
by Mr. Wellwisher,
1817,
August 14th.

NB.—The original 3-voiced Quintet score has been sacrificed as a burnt-offering to the Gods of the Underworld.

The score of the arrangement is in the handwriting of a copyist with corrections by B; the title, however, is his autograph." Sz (p. 109), L (p. 377) and C (II 517) agree to the authenticity of the transcription. TK (*loc. cit.*) states that the work was first performed on December 13th 1818 (NB and Frimmel [*B-Handbuch* II 46] say December 10th) and published in February 1819. The score was first published in the GA (1863-64).

81. Fugue in D major for Two Violins, Two Violas and Violoncello, Op. 137. GA Ser. 5 No. 35. TV-213. TK (II 389) says: "A Fugue in D major, for five stringed instruments, was completed on November 28th 1817, and was designed for the manuscript collection of B's works projected by Haslinger, who published it after B's death in 1827 as Op. 137." MR (p. 96) states that publication might have been as late in 1827 as November, though it was quite possibly earlier.

82. Quintet in F major for Two Violins, Two Violas and Violoncello. H-27. L (p. 438) refers to an "Original MS Quintet for 2 Vln., 2 Vla and Vcl, F major, in the possession of Prince N. Galitsin, to whom B sent it in 1824." N gives the date as 1826. "This Quintet, without scherzo or minuet, dates from B's youth, and is of only historical value. It is desirable, nevertheless, that it be published: its authenticity is beyond question."

C (I 85) mentions an "unfinished string quintet" (otherwise unidentified) as being among the compositions antedating Op. 1. G (I 283) says that a quintet in process of composition was referred to in a letter of June 1st 1805 from B to the publisher Artaria, and states further that the ultimate fate of that quintet is "a matter of complete uncertainty; it certainly never arrived at publication." Are these three one and the same?

83. Andante in G major for Two Violins, Two Violas and Violoncello, referred to by C (I 99) as "taken from the sketches of an unfinished quintet" composed later than 1815. To the extent to which the article on B in this source-book can be trusted, which is not far, this would seem to be a composition which (as far as the compiler of this List has found) is not mentioned elsewhere, and which, from its assigned date, is certainly distinct from the early unfinished Quintet cited above (#82) as listed by C.

84. Movement in D minor for String Quintet, referred to by H (his No. 29) as having been composed in 1817 as the introduction for a Fugue which was never written. According to his statement, the autograph is in Berlin; the work has never been published. NB (II 159) says that work on this movement was dropped after about four pages had been written out in fair copy.

85. Andante maestoso in C major for Pianoforte, "Beethovens letzter musikalischer Gedanke" ("B's Last Musical Thought"), Op. 174, an arrangement of the first movement of a String Quintet now lost. H-28. See also NB II 522. The index to NV (p. 201) lists this work under "String Quintets", with the annotation "Movement in C major from an uncompleted Quintet, in an arrangement ('letzter Gedanke') for Pf."

TK (III 245) says: "At Diabelli's request B said that he would write a quintet with flute. Sketches for a quintet have been found, showing that the work was in a considerably advanced state (Gneixendorf, October-November 1826), but in them there are no signs of a flute. . . . In the catalogue of B's posthumous effects No. 173 was 'Fragment of a new Vln Quintet, of November 1826, last work of the Composer,' which . . . was bought by Diabelli at the auction sale and published in Pf arrangement, two and four hands [H says by Haslinger] with the title: 'LvB's Last Musical Thought, after the original manuscript of November 1826', and the remark 'Sketch of the Quintet which the publishers, A Diabelli and Co., commissioned B to write and purchased from his relics with proprietary rights'."

"The published work is a short movement in C major in two divisions, having a broad theme of festal character, Andante maestoso and Polonaise rhythm. The autograph having disappeared, it cannot now be said how much of the piece was actually written out by B," though H stated that one movement was complete, but says elsewhere ('Neues B-Jahrbuch' 9 [1939] 76) that only a fragment of the autograph has been preserved. NB (I 81) gives evidence to substantiate the statement: "The Quintet movement in C major was written later than the new finale for the B flat Quartet", November 1826, so that this movement, if not "B's Last Musical Thought", is undoubtedly his last fully written-out work. G (I 300) says that "the book which contains the last sketches" for the new finale to Op. 130 "contains fragments of a quintet in C," which would indicate winter 1826-27 as the time of composition. H gives 1838 as the year of publication, NV (p. 153) gives 1840.

This work should not be confused with the one listed by L (p. 450)

as " 'Dernière pensée musicale' for Pf solo, *Poco vivace*, B flat major, 39 measures, published by Schlesinger (Berlin) " (TV-212). The explanation of this work is given by TK (II 411) as follows: "Among the sketches for the last movement [of the 'Hammerklavier' Sonata Op. 106] there is an outline for a piano piece in B flat which, according to an inscription upon the autograph, was composed on the afternoon of August 14th [1818]. (Footnote by TK) It is the short piece in B flat published as a supplement to the Berlin 'Allgem. Musik. Zeit.' on December 8th 1824 under the title 'Dernière pensée musicale'." TK (II 415) makes the further comment that this bit was published by Schlesinger, "no doubt a pot-boiler."

NOTE 9.—At the same time (first half of 1810) that Simrock issued the Sextet for Horns and Strings Op. 81b (#89), he also issued an arrangement for Pf, Vln or Vla, and Vcl as "Op. 83" (#49, *q.v.*) and one for String Quintet on the title-page of which the opus number "83" was altered by hand to "82" (note that this opus number is properly used to indicate Four Ariettas and a Duet with Italian text, for Voice and Pf accompaniment. No information is available as to the identity of the arranger of either transcription.

S (p. 231) mentions the String Quintet and Pf Trio versions (#78, #47) of the Wind Octet Op. 103 (#92), and continues: "The Rondino [#93] also emerged in the guise of a string quintet with two violas." Except for a listing of this Quintet by C (82), no information bearing on its authenticity or even its existence has been found; NV (p. 140) does not list any arrangements of the Rondino except for Pf.

NOTE 10.—TK (II 412-13) quotes two letters from B to Ries, the first of which (undated) reads in part: "I wish you would try to dispose of the following 2 works, a grand solo sonata for Pf [the 'Hammerklavier'] and a Pf sonata which I have myself arranged for 2 Vln, 2 Vla, 1 Vcl, to a publisher in London", and in the second of which he says, "... You will before now have received the arranged quintet and the sonata. See to it that both works, especially the quintet, are engraved at once ... but make haste with the quintet ... De Smidt, Courier of Prince Esterházy, had taken the quintet and sonata with him. ..."

With reference to the first of these letters, C (I 111) says that "dates prove that the trio" Op. 1 No. 3 in its quintet arrangement Op. 104 (#80) "was alluded to. Such works were often known as sonatas." It would seem, on the contrary, that dates rendered this explanation most improbable. Collation of the letter in question with other correspondence (see TK *loc. cit.*) indicates a probable date of early March 1819 for it, and NB (II 137) will not set a date earlier than this same month for the completion of the "Hammerklavier" Sonata Op. 106 (see also NV p. 101), yet Op. 104 was published the month before. The compiler of this List can however make no alternative suggestion as to the identity of the "pianoforte sonata" which B referred to.

86. Quintet in E flat major for Pianoforte, Oboe, Clarinet, Bassoon and Horn, Op. 16. GA Ser. 10 No. 74. TV-54; P-89. See #61, #74; see also NB II 513 and Frimmel 'B-Handbuch' II 47. TK (I 200) says that the first performance was on April 6th 1797 (TV says "April 2nd 1798"), and (I 207) that "it had probably been completed not long before." P assigns a date of 1794?-97, with which MR (p. 93) agrees; StF (p. 289) says "about 1796", and G (I 276) refers to its probable completion during the "winter months" of 1796-97. The first movement may have been composed as early as 1794. The work was announced and published in March 1801; the parts included those

required for Pf-and-Wind Quintet and also those for Pf-and-String Quartet (#74).

87. Sextet in E flat major for Two Clarinets, Two Bassoons and Two Horns, Op. 71. GA Ser. 8 No. 61. TV-120; P-79. TK (II 42) says: "Composed 'in 1796 at the latest', says Nottebohm [quoting NV p. 198], and, not improbably in its original form, at Bonn" (*i.e.*, not later than 1792), but elsewhere (TK I 205) the statement is made: "It is therefore possible to place the origin of the earlier movements of the Sextet in an earlier [*sic*] period, say 1796-97." P agrees with the statement of StF: "It would seem to have been composed in Vienna about 1795 or 1796." NB (II 40) gives sketches for the last movement which appear in a sketch-book of the period middle of 1796 to middle of 1798.

TK (I 205) says that the first performance was in April 1805. NV and MR (p. 91) give January 1810 as the publication date; TK (II 195) says April 1810. P says that publication was announced in January 1813 and that the work actually appeared from the press of Breitkopf & Härtel in April of that year. The facts are as stated by P, with correction of his misprinted "1813" to "1810." The score first appeared in the GA (1864).

88. March in B flat major for Two Clarinets, Two Bassoons and Two Horns. GA Ser. 25 No. 292. This brief work occupies only a single page of the GA; no reference to it in print has been found except the statement by C (I 85) that it was written before Op. 1.

89. Sextet in E flat major for Two Horns, Two Violins, Viola and Violoncello, Op. 81b. GA Ser. 5 No. 33. TV-152; P-54. See #49 and NOTE 9 (following #85 *supra*). TK (I 207) says: "The Sextet for four stringed instruments and two horns, Op. 81b . . . in all likelihood was conceived before the Sextet for wind instruments, Op. 71 (#87). . . . The Sextet is therefore to be credited to the year 1795, or perhaps 1794." NB (II 536) and MR (p. 93) say: "1794 or the beginning of 1795"; P gives the date 1795. C (I 89) indicates that the work had a more adventurous course, saying that it was "completed in 1809, this being the final form of the attempts and sketches . . . of 1790 and 1796", which C refers to elsewhere as completed versions of the work.

TK (*loc. cit.*) says: "It was published in 1810¹⁸ by Simrock in Bonn. . . . As to whether or not, and if so when and where, the Sextet had been played before being sent to Simrock there is, as yet, no conclusive evidence." As an indication that the manuscript might have gone very promptly to Simrock, TV notes the fact that this publisher himself was a noted horn player. In the letter which accompanied the manuscript B (who had studied with Simrock) wrote: "The Student has at last set for his Master many hard nuts to crack." The score was first published in 1846.

NV says that a copy of the first horn part of this Sextet in his possession bore the note in B's handwriting, "Sextet by me. God knows where the other parts are."

Both this Sextet and the Pf Sonata 'L'Absence' were originally published as Op. 81, the Sextet by Simrock in the first half of 1810, the Sonata by Breitkopf & Härtel in July 1811. The differentiation by which the Sonata became Op. 81a and the Sextet Op. 81b was apparently first made in NV (1851).

90. Eleven Viennese Dances (Four Waltzes, Five Minuets, Two

¹⁸ On p. I 207, TK erroneously shows "1819," but gives the correct date of publication "1810" (substantiated by NV and other authorities) on p. II 195.

Ländler) for Two Flutes or Two Clarinets (in one dance One Flute, One Clarinet and One Bassoon), Two Horns, Two Violins and Bass. H-31. Riemann ('Ztschr. der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft' 9 [1907] 53) states that manuscript parts of eleven Viennese dances found in the Leipzig Thomasschule collection may by internal and other evidence be definitely attributed to B as having been written in the summer of 1819. These dances were published by Breitkopf & Härtel in 1907. The first few bars of each dance are given on page V of the introduction to TD IV (1923).

91. Septet in E flat major for Clarinet, Bassoon, Horn, Violin, Viola, Violoncello and Double Bass, Op. 20. GA Ser. 5 No. 32. TV-69; P-116. See #42. G (I 278) states the opinion that B had been long at work on this composition before its performance, and intimates that it dates "back to 1797." MR (p. 90) says that it was composed during the second half of 1799 and the first months of 1800. TK (I 266) says that its first public performance was on April 2nd 1800, but (I 278) "it had been heard previously in the house of Prince Schwartzberg. . . . Its inception may be placed [in the year 1799], though it was probably finished in 1800 shortly before its performance. There is no date on the autograph. It . . . was published . . . in 1802"; G (I 280), P (p. 319) and L (p. 352) say that the publication was in two sections. MR (*loc. cit.*) states that only the parts appeared in July 1802; the score was published by the original publisher (Hoffmeister & Kühnel, Leipzig) in June 1832, but that a score had already appeared in France in 1828.

TK (I 209) says: "Everybody knows that the second movement of the Pf Sonata in G major Op. 49 No. 2 is based on the same motif as the third movement (minuet) of the Septet. That the motif is older in the Sonata than in the Septet is proved by the fact that sketches for it are found along with [those of some other works which establish] its early origin, say in 1795 or, at the latest, 1796." The sketches in question are quoted in NB I 1. Arguments for and against the contention that the theme of the Andante was a folk melody are given by TK (I 266). "The evidence would seem to indicate that the melody was original with B."

92. Octet ('Parthia') in E flat major for Two Oboes, Two Clarinets, Two Bassoons and Two Horns, Op. 103¹⁹. GA Ser. 8 No. 59. TV-25; P-40; L p. 449. See #78. Estimates of the date of composition made by various authorities do not differ widely: G (I 262) says "1791-92", StF says "early 1792", TK (I 134) and P say 1792 or (improbably) 1793, NB (II 518) says "1792 at the earliest, 1793 at the latest." P (p. 130) says: "Probably one of B's last compositions at Bonn, if indeed it was completed there", and (p. 189) quotes a letter giving reason to believe that it had not come to first performance as late as August 1794.

NV gives 1834 as the year of publication, but MR (p. 89) says that it was published in "February 1831 at the latest, and probably during 1830." It seems probable that the Octet was announced in November or December of 1830 and published about the same time without opus number. The assignment of the opus number 103 was apparently made in NV (1851). The score first appeared in the GA (1864).

93. Rondino in E flat major for Two Oboes, Two Clarinets, Two Bassoons and Two Horns, Op. 146. GA Ser. 8 No. 60. TV-27; P-31; L p. 449. See NOTE 9 (following #85 *supra*). P (p. 130) assigns a date

¹⁹ Note the incongruity of such an opus number for a work composed before Op. 1 and published some years after B's death! The only apparent explanation is that "103" was inadvertently skipped in contemporary opus numbering, and was later pre-empted for this composition.

A CHECK-LIST OF BEETHOVEN'S CHAMBER MUSIC 163

of 1790-91; NV (p. 140) and MR (p. 89) say "very early, while still at Bonn"; StF "surely at Bonn"; G (I 262) lists this as one of "the compositions which may perhaps be fixed to the years 1791 and 1792"; TK (I 134) says 1792. MR says "The first performance took place at Bonn." Published in 1829 (NV, *loc. cit.*); P's "1859" is surely a misprint.

NOTE 11.—H-16 states that an arrangement for Wind Instruments of the Adagio for a Mechanical Clock has been discovered by Unger. H, by including it in his list, indicates his belief that the work is genuine, but gives no further details.

NOTE 12.—Listed below are arrangements of Beethoven Chamber Works which have been cited in reference books of various degrees of reliability, but for which the compiler of this list has not found convincing evidence of authenticity.

- (a) Polonaise from the Serenade Op. 8 for String Trio (#37), arranged for 2 Vln or for Vln and Guitar. Stated by TK (II 113) to have been published in September 1807. No other reference found.
- (b) Arrangement of Wind Trio Op. 87 (#33) for Vln, Vla, Vcl, listed by C (I 82). Almost certainly a mistake for the known arrangement (#35) for 2 Vln, Vla. Contemporary arrangements were published (1806-07) for 2 Vln and Vcl, for 2 Ob or 2 Cl and Bsn, and for 2 Fl and Vla, but there is no reason to believe that any versions except those listed above (#18, #33, #35) were prepared, revised or sanctioned by B.
- (c) Arrangement of "Là ci darem" Variations for Wind Trio (#34) for 2 Vln, Vla, listed by C (I 82). Quite possibly authentic, as a parallel to the similar arrangement of Op. 87 (#35), but no evidence of authenticity has been found by the compiler of this list.
- (d) Variations in E flat major on an Original Theme, for String Trio (written before Op. 1), mentioned by C (I 85). Probably this is a careless mistake in referring to Op. 44 (#44), which is a *Piano* Trio, to which the above corresponds in title, in tonality and in date.
- (e) 12 Contredanses for Two Violins and Bass, listed by S (p. 301). NV (p. 138) says that the score of these dances was published during the first half of 1803 under the title 'Contredanses for Two Violins and Bass, and Wind Instruments *ad libitum*' (see G I 280). The score in GA Ser. 2 No. 17a gives no indication that this is for other than small orchestra without Vla (Vln I, Vln II, Bass, Fl, Cl, Ob, Bsn, Hrn, Snare Drum).
- (f) Trios in C major and F major for Pf, Cl and Bsn, listed by C (I 83). These may be the arrangements of the Duets for Cl and Bsn (#2) by Adolph Mann, mentioned elsewhere by C (I 65, II 113) as published by Augener or those by Georg Göhler published by Breitkopf & Härtel, but (as certainly as such matters may be) they are *not* arrangements by B.
- (g) G (I 282) refers to a manuscript trio preserved in the Library of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna. TK (II 20) makes clear that this is a *vocal* trio.
- (h) Quintet for Fl, Ob, Cl, Bsn and Hrn arranged from Wind Sextet Op. 71 (#87), mentioned by S (p. 232) and listed by C (I 82). Altmann ('Kammermusik-Katalog', p. 15) lists such an arrangement by Rob. Start as having been published in 1895 by A. E. Fischer. No evidence of a similar arrangement by B has been found.

- (i) String Quintet arranged from Septet Op. 20 (#91), mentioned by L (p. 350) and by Wier ('The Chamber Music of Beethoven', p. 184) and listed by C (I 82). NV (p. 24) states that this arrangement was by Hoffmeister; TK (I 228) quotes a notice by B in the 'Wiener Zeitung' specifically naming this arrangement as spurious, and protesting against current practices in this connection. See also Footnote to #42 *supra*.

A 'Collection Complète des Quintetti, Quatuors et Trios composés pour instruments à cordes par' LvB published by Schlesinger, which from its appearance might date from the 1830s, includes this Quintet as "Op. 76" and (incidentally) includes the last Quartet as "Op. 134".

- (j) Quintet for Pf, Ob, Vln, Vla, Vcl arranged from Quintet for Pf and Wind Instruments Op. 16 (#86), listed by C (I 82). No other reference found; no reason to believe that this arrangement (if it actually exists) is by B.
- (k) String Sextet arranged from Septet Op. 20 (#91), mentioned by Wier ('The Chamber Music of Beethoven', p. 184) as having been published in 1802. No other reference found.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

For the principal books and periodical articles used in the preparation of the foregoing List, attempt has been made to give enough of a discussion to indicate their contents (or that portion of the contents used in the present study) as some kind of guide to the reader as to what he may find. It is realized that some of the books (*e.g.*, the one by de Marliave) are treated in too laudatory a manner; for others (*e.g.*, Abraham's 'Middle-Period Quartets') the comment gives little idea of the charm and erudition which they display. The publication dates given for books in this listing are those of the editions used by the compiler.

Books and periodical articles which, because of limitations of time or facilities, could not be examined are listed by title, and for the most part appear here second-hand from other lists. Some which are thus casually disposed of (*e.g.*, the German edition of Thayer's biography) are of fundamental importance.

Accordingly, the material given below should not be considered as even a well-conducted attempt at a complete bibliography in the field of Beethoven Chamber Music, but merely as a spring-board for others who can do the job better. For errors and omissions forgiveness is asked—forgiveness and correction.

- Altmann, Wilhelm : Handbuch für Klavierquartettspieler. 1937.
 ibid Handbuch für Klavierquintettspieler. 1936.
 ibid Handbuch für Klaviertriospieler. (4 vols.) 1934.
 ibid Handbuch für Streichquartettspieler. 1928-31.

Altmann, Wilhelm : Kammermusik-Katalog (4th Ed., 1931)²⁰, with Supplement (1936).

Planned primarily for the amateur, the four volumes of the 'Handbuch für Streichquartettspieler' list several thousand compositions, with brief descriptions of each. Volumes I and II are devoted to string quartets, arranged according to the year of the composer's birth (Vol. I through 1828); Volume III discusses string trios and works for five or more strings, as well as some quartets omitted from Volumes I and II. Volume IV is devoted to works for strings and wind. Illustrations in music notation are given generously in Vols. I and IV, sparingly in

²⁰ The first three editions of this work (1910 and subsequent) were under the title 'Kammermusik-Literatur'.

Vol. II and not at all in Vol. III. The three volumes dealing with works for Pf and strings follow the same general plan as the volumes for strings alone. For each of these, music examples appear in a supplement slipped inside the back cover.

The 'Kammermusik-Katalog' is a tabulation, with great effort at completeness, of all chamber music published since 1841, adopting as the criterion of chamber music "works in sonata form for at least two and not more than eleven performers", and thus omitting serious works in variation form as well as the acres of operatic transcriptions so popular in the last century.

Aulich, Bruno and Heimeran, Ernst: The Well-Tempered String Quartet (translated by D. Millar Craig). 1938.

The first half of this delightful book is an antidote to the air of vestal-virginity which too often is considered as a necessary approach to a concert of chamber-music: we may instead hope that performers and listeners alike may find one-tenth as much fun in their Haydn or their Hindemith as Messrs. Aulich and Heimeran so obviously did. In the second half, several hundred chamber works are discussed from the standpoint of the advanced and experienced amateur quartet player.

Bekker, Paul: Beethoven (trans. M. M. Bozman) 1925.

Burk, John N.: The Life and Works of Beethoven. 1943.

Dickinson, A. E. F.: Beethoven. 1941.

Schauffler, Robert-Haven: Beethoven, the Man who Freed Music. 1929.

Scott, Marion M. Beethoven. 1934.

Each of these books is on the same general plan: a biographical section (that by Schauffler being by far the most complete), and a discussion (readable rather than profound) of the compositions, Burk's discussion taking the form of a fairly complete and generously annotated catalogue.

Cobbett, Walter Willson (compiler and editor): Cobbett's Cyclopedic Survey of Chamber Music (2 vols.). 1930.

An inescapable *must* for the serious student of chamber music, whether to find out in fifteen seconds how many string quartets Max Reger wrote or to spend minutes or hours sharing the thoughts of Sir Donald Tovey on Haydn, of Richard Aldrich on Schumann or of Edwin Evans on Bartók. Regrettably, this jewel of reference works has a flaw—a serious flaw in a conspicuous place. The article by Vincent d'Indy on Beethoven is incomplete, inaccurate and (where attempts at formal analysis are made) incomprehensible.

Frimmel, T.: Beethoven-Handbuch (2 vols.). 1926.

The Check-List suffers from the fact that its compiler had only the briefest of access to this encyclopedia of Beethoveniana. By this work (if too cursory a glance warrants such a statement) Frimmel takes place with Nottebohm and Thayer to form a triumvirate of Beethoven scholars to whom all workers in the field of Beethoveniana may turn for guidance.

Hadow, W. H.: The Quartets, Op. 18.

Abraham, Gerald: The Middle-Period Quartets.

Fiske, Roger: Beethoven's Last Quartets.

These three volumes of 'The Musical Pilgrim' series serve their purpose excellently: to help the intelligent listener to enjoy and understand the Quartets.

Hayward, John D.: Chamber Music for Amateurs. 1923.

This book was written by an "amateur" in both English and the French meaning of the word: a non-professional musician who obviously has a love for music which many professionals might envy. This little

book has a place on the musicologist's shelf if only for the reason that mention is made of many relatively slight works which do not get into more profound treatises on chamber music.

Helm, Theodor : Beethoven's Streich-Quartette. 1921.

Riemann, Hugo : Beethoven's Streichquartette. (n.d.).

Rolland, Romain : Beethoven—les Derniers Quatuors. 1943.

The book by Helm is, in the compiler's opinion, the best single volume on the Quartets that he has seen. Musical examples are generously given, and the analysis can lift its head towards the clouds and at the same time keep its feet on the ground of fact. The "Meisterführer" by Riemann is at times hard to follow, but contains what on the whole is a sound treatment of the Quartets. The last volume in Rolland's series on Beethoven quotes generously and sometimes confusingly from the sketch-books, but is written with a real appreciation and understanding of the last Quartets.

Hess, Willy : "What works of Beethoven are omitted from the Breitkopf & Härtel Gesamtausgabe?" Neues Beethoven-Jahrbuch 7 (1937) 104-30; Errata and Addenda in *ibid* 9 (1939) 75-79.

A listing and critical discussion of more than 250 works presumably completed by Beethoven but not included in the Gesamtausgabe.

Kastner, Emerich : Bibliotheca Beethoveniana. Published 1913 as part of the reprint of Nottebohm's Thematisches Verzeichnis; supplemented and extended through 1924 by Dr. Theodor Frimmel and published as a supplement to the 1925 reprint of Nottebohm's Thematisches Verzeichnis.

A listing according to date of publication of "all works on the great tone-poet which have appeared between 1827 and 1913, together with certain periodical articles." The usability of the work is greatly decreased by the fact that it is purely chronological, with no subject-classification.²¹ Listing of articles in periodicals is by no means complete. Nevertheless, it is (as far as the compiler of the present List knows) the only bibliography of Beethoveniana for the period which makes any pretence to completeness even as far as books are concerned.

The project of a complete bibliography of Beethoveniana for the years subsequent to 1913 has been continued not only by Frimmel, but also as shown below, with the inestimable advantage of a careful and detailed subject-classification and an apparent attempt at complete inclusion of the periodical literature.

For the years	Neues Beethoven-Jahrbuch	Compiler
1914-1923	1 (1924) 219	Dr. Phillip Losch
1924	2 (1925) 200	"
1925	3 (1927) 178	"
1926-1927	4 (1930) 177	"
1928-1932	5 (1933) 233	"
1933-1936	7 (1937) 202	"
1937-1938	9 (1939) 114	Victor A. Carus

Lenz, Wilhelm de : Beethoven et ses Trois Styles (First French Edition of 1855 reprinted with minor corrections and a bibliography of some 200 titles by M. D. Calvocoressi). 1909.

In this work, pages 325-477 comprise a catalogue, described by the Author as "critique, chronologique et anecdotique", of all compositions by Beethoven known to him, with some critical comments and generous

²¹ The compiler is acutely aware of the obvious comment on the present bibliography, and in reply can only quote S. L. Clemens, a cynical nineteenth-century student of human nature: "To be good is noble; to tell other people how to be good is nobler—and less trouble."

excerpts from contemporary reviews. Editing and proof-reading are not up to desired standards; the assigned dates of compositions tend to be later than those given by more recent authorities. Regarding the position of this work in Beethoveniana, see Ernest Newman, 'Music & Letters' 8 (1927) 268.

Marliave, Joseph de : The Quartets of Beethoven (translated by Hilda Andrews). 1928.

No opportunity was lost to make this book as unsatisfactory as possible. The discussion of the music is rhapsodic rather than informative; the music examples are incredibly careless in their selection. In the one case in which strict formal analysis, cleanly thought out and clearly presented is a *sine qua non*—in the discussion of the 'Grosse Fuge'—the author ignominiously turns tail and runs. There is room for a first-rate full-length book in English on the Beethoven quartets, but this certainly is not it.

Matthews, J. : The Violin Music of Beethoven. 1902.

One of 'The Strad' series for the amateur, discussing in an elementary way the sonatas for violin and for cello, the string quartets, and some of the trios and quintets.

Munter, Friedrich : "Beethoven's arrangements of his own works." Neues Beethoven-Jahrbuch 6 (1935) 159-73.

A discussion in considerable detail of seven of Beethoven's chamber music arrangements. The statement is made that the following arrangements, among others, are spurious : Opp. 41, 42, 60, 61, 63, 64, 75.

Music & Letters : "Beethoven Number" 8 (1927) 101-294.

As much Beethoveniana, written by a long list of recognized experts, as the compiler of this List has found squeezed between the covers of any one work in English.

Nottebohm, Gustav : Beethoveniana (1872); Zweite Beethoveniana (1887).

Two collections of writings on a variety of subjects concerning Beethoven's sketch-books and conversation books, his studies of counterpoint, his musical orthography, details of the history of various individual compositions, deviations of printed editions from the manuscripts, and (especially in the second volume) copious quotations from the sketch-books to show the process of refining and moulding which brought his thematic material to its final form. A treasury of information made available to us by an eminent and indefatigable Beethoven scholar.

Nottebohm, Gustav : Ludwig van Beethoven Thematisches Verzeichnis. Second Enlarged Edition (1868) reprinted 1913, 1925.

For practically every composition by Beethoven with an opus number and for many of the unnumbered works, a citation of the opening measures of each movement, a brief historical sketch regarding the initial publication of the work, and a listing of editions of the original version and of transcriptions. This work is as indispensable to-day as it was eighty years ago.

Oldman, C. B. : "A Beethoven Bibliography." Music & Letters 8 (1927) 276-88.

A completely admirable listing of books on Beethoven and his works, arranged according to general content and including such discussion of each as is needed.

Prod'homme, J.-G. : La Jeunesse de Beethoven (1770-1800). 1921.

Schiedermaier, Ludwig : Der junge Beethoven. 1925.

Of these two monographs, the one by Schiedermaier has the more limited objective and does by far the better job in attaining it. The first

235 pages discuss the *musician* Beethoven, his forbears and his life up to his departure from Bonn in November 1792. In this section of the book, little besides the listing of Bonn compositions on pp. 169, 179 and 216ff indicates that this young musician was also a composer! In Part II (pp. 239-416) each of the forty-six works attributed to the Bonn period is subjected to detailed musical and stylistic analysis (the nine chamber works of this period are discussed on pp. 287-99 and 362-79). There is, however, a surprising dearth of historical information about these works, their inception, performances and publication. Technically, this book would be a credit to any publisher.

Prod'homme includes the first years in Vienna (up to 1800) instead of stopping at 1792. His book is much more discursive and much less orderly; it teems with typographical errors and cries aloud for the Index of Compositions which is wholly omitted. Nevertheless, the greater scope of the book (in time and in treatment) and the annotated Chronological Catalogue with music examples of nearly every one of the 125 compositions discussed make the book of importance to the musicologist who can take the time to disinter the really valuable material which is buried there.

Saint-Foix, Georges de: "Mozart and the young Beethoven." *Musical Quarterly* 6 (1920) 276-95. (Translation of article in French appearing in *Rivista musicale italiana* 27 [1920] 85-111.)

A discussion of many of the youthful works (principally chamber works) in more or less detail, and a detailed discussion and analysis (with facsimiles) of the four manuscripts in the British Museum hitherto attributed to Mozart (see #54 in the foregoing List).

Sauzay, Eugène: *L'École de l'Accompagnement*. 1869. (pp. 56-69, 108-10).

Thematic index and brief non-critical comments on all or virtually all Beethoven's chamber works with piano that were known at the time of writing, and tabulation of a large number of transcriptions, grouped according to the author's judgement into those by Beethoven and those by others.

Thayer, Alexander Wheelock: *The Life of Ludwig van Beethoven* (edited, revised and amended by Henry Edward Krehbiel). 3 vols., 1921.

A glance at any portion of the Check-List will show that this *tour-de-force* of biographical scholarship has been constantly at hand, and as constantly used. It must be stated, though, that this remarkable work was certainly not prepared with the needs of the research musicologist in mind. To an irritating extent we read that "the work was completed towards the end of this year", or that "the publications of this year were as follows", and are obliged to search, sometimes for pages, to find out with certainty which the year in question was.

Another practice which keeps love for Thayer-Krehbiel from running smooth is the frequency of such statements as "we have already seen that . . ." with no reference to the previous discussion by the painstaking research and keen analysis of which we *did* (or *can*) see the point under discussion. The index is lamentably far from perfect: at least one of the compositions finding a place in the Check-List, though discussed in Thayer-Krehbiel (#77 in I 206), does not appear in the index. The same is true of a disputed arrangement (that of Op. 20 for string quintet, discussed in TK I 278, 350, but not indexed). An appreciable number of pertinent references are omitted for compositions

which are listed, and the proof-reading leaves much to be desired, both in the index and in the body of the text.²²

Granting these lapses, it still is given to few biographers to leave so nearly unique a contribution to their chosen field as did Alexander Wheelock Thayer, and to equally few editors to shine not only vicariously but by personal accomplishment as did Henry Edward Krehbiel.

The Trustees, National Gallery (London) : National Gallery Concerts, 10th October 1939 to 10th October 1944. 1944.

Habités of Trafalgar Square (among whom the compiler of this list happily counts himself) might list pages 31-32 of this Fifth Anniversary publication as required reading for those in *partibus infidelium*, to cause gnashing of teeth at the fact that in this one series of concerts Londoners were able, over a five-year period, to hear no fewer than 69 out of the approximately 85 original published chamber compositions by Beethoven.²³ Of the omitted 16, at least three (#27, #40, and #88) have since been performed in later concerts of the same series. Lucky London !

Tovey, Sir Donald Francis : Writings *passim*.

Neither in any of the seven volumes of 'Essays in Musical Analysis' nor in the 'Musical Articles from the Encyclopedia Britannica' does a Beethoven chamber work appear as the title of an article ; the volume 'Beethoven' deals with the man and his music as a whole rather than individual compositions, and the two little²⁴ volumes, 'The Integrity of Music' and 'Musical Textures', range throughout the field of music.

The indices of these volumes (especially of the first seven listed above) with their frequent incidental reference to the chamber works, show that this tremendous musical intellect lacked only the occasion for writing on these compositions to make additions to our musical knowledge and aesthetics as he did for so many other works throughout the range of music. And if any writer on Beethoven (or anything else musical) needs a compelling inducement to humility, let him read what the twenty-five-year-old Tovey wrote in 1900 about the Mozart Quintet for piano and wind instruments (K. 452) and its relation to Beethoven's Op. 16²⁵—read, then tear up what he himself has written.

Veröffentlichungen des Beethovens-Hauses in Bonn. 1922ff.

A series of monographs on various highly specialized aspects of Beethoveniana.

Wier, Albert E. (editor) : The Chamber Music of Beethoven (one of the volumes in the Longmans Miniature Arrow Score Series). 1940.

In this single volume are included photolithographs of Eulenburg scores of no less than 33 chamber works by B : the 17 Quartets, 6 Pf Trios, 3 of the 5 String Trios, the Trios Opp. 11 and 25, the Quintet Op. 16 in both versions, the Quintet Op. 29, the Septet Op. 20 and the Octet Op. 103.

No attempt has been made to correct the dozens (probably hundreds) of misprints in the Eulenburg originals. The editorial work has been very carelessly carried out—the "Arrow" system of indicating thematic entries too often bears no relation to the actualities of the music, the "Comments" on the various compositions are not to be trusted, and five years after this volume first appeared it is still necessary to write

²² On this point Engel ('Musical Quarterly' 13 [1927] 269) says : "The printer's devil certainly never had finer sport."

²³ This count omits the two groups of Variations on National Airs (#6, #7), the Allemandes for Pf and Vln (#17), and the sets of Dances #39 and #90, no one of which by any normal standard is chamber music. Incidentally, #39 has been played at these Lunch-Time Concerts.

²⁴ The volumes are little, but remember that Napoleon was only 5 ft. 2 in. tall.

²⁵ 'Essays in Musical Analysis : Chamber Music' (1944) pp. 106-120.

to the publishers to secure page 3 of Op. 135 (page 4 having inadvertently been printed twice.) The format is so convenient and the price (\$3.00) so low that this edition is nevertheless a desirable addition to the library of any chamber music enthusiast.

OTHER BOOKS BEARING ON BEETHOVEN'S CHAMBER MUSIC

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The source of most of these listings is indicated in the first part of this Bibliography under the entry "Kastner." Others were added from the general bibliography in Cobbett. Except as omitted through oversight, periodical articles referred to in the Check-List are also cited here.

Any errors which might have appeared in these sources have been passed on, but the compiler has doubtless proved capable of adding to them.

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Note.—The compiler of this Check-List was able to amplify his Bibliography considerably after his return to the U.S.A., but his additions arrived too late for publication in this issue. They will appear in the October number.—Ed.

STENDHAL AND MOZART

BY JOHN P. HARTHAN

THE opinions of literary men upon music are usually viewed with mistrust by professional musicians. Without the discipline of technical knowledge it is probably easier to write nonsense about music than about any other art, yet there appears nevertheless to be some deep-rooted desire to express in words the nature of musical enjoyment. The author of 'La Chartreuse de Parme' is a conspicuous example of the amateur obsessed by this problem. Henri Beyle (1783-1842), whose pseudonym probably comes from the Brunswick town of Stendhal which he visited during service with the French army of occupation in the years 1806-8, loved music all his life, not, it must be admitted, for its own sake, but for its power of arousing emotion and for the insight which it gave him into the workings of the human heart. The function of music according to Stendhal was to give pleasure, its vehicle the emotions, its result a state of extreme physical well-being. "On peut même dire que son empire commence où finit celui de la parole",¹ and in attempting to express what words cannot adequately define Stendhal identifies the act of listening to music with the state of being in love. "Je viens d'éprouver ce soir", he writes in 'De l'Amour', "que la musique, quand elle est parfaite met le cœur exactement dans la même situation où il se trouve quand il jouit de la présence de ce qu'il aime, c'est-à-dire qu'elle donne le bonheur apparemment le plus vif qui existe sur cette terre".² This "plaisir extrême mais de peu de durée et de peu de fixité" is physical rather than intellectual. One reason why Stendhal did not wholeheartedly appreciate Gluck in spite of the beautifully moulded phrases of his arias, was that he found him too "intellectual" a composer. The connection between this physical basis of musical enjoyment and the emotional "by-products" is explained in another curious sentence: "le plaisir tout physique et machinal que la musique donne aux nerfs de l'oreille, en les forçant de prendre un certain degré de tension . . . ce plaisir physique met

¹ ' Vie de Rossini', II, 3. (All references are to Henri Martineau's edition of the complete works of Stendhal, Paris, 1927-37 [Le Livre du Divan], in 79 vols.)

² 'De l'Amour', I, 76.

apparemment le cerveau dans un certain état de tension ou d'irritation qui la force à produire des images agréables".³ The test of good music is the extent to which it releases these agreeable images. The approach is entirely subjective; it is only the effect on the listener which is worth studying, for "la science des sons est si vague, qu'on n'est sûr de rien avec eux, sinon du plaisir qu'ils donnent actuellement".⁴

At first sight these and similar utterances seem absurd. But it should be remembered that the physiological reactions to music which Stendhal mentions in somewhat vague terms have been proved and tested in medical experiments. Music gives rise to emotion and emotion is now known to be accompanied by definite physical changes in the sympathetic nervous system. "La base de la musique est ce plaisir physique", while summing up the typical Latin approach, is also an expression of scientific fact and explains why Stendhal could surrender to musical enjoyment without seeking any justification in metaphysics.⁵

It is not surprising that his interest in music was mainly confined to opera and above all to the operas of Cimarosa, Rossini and Mozart. "J'aimais passionnément non pas la musique, mais uniquement la musique de Cimarosa et Mozart"; "Je n'ai aimé avec passion en ma vie que Cimarosa, Mozart et Shakespeare".⁶ "Ce génie de la douce mélancolie", "cet homme plein tant d'idées et d'un goût si grandiose" are the phrases he uses to describe Mozart whose music "est destinée surtout à toucher en présentant à l'âme des images mélancoliques, et qui font songer aux malheurs de la plus aimable et de la plus tendre des passions".⁷ In Mozart's operas Stendhal found a knowledge of the human heart developed to a degree resembling his own exhaustive analysis of the passions in 'De l'Amour'. This perception of the "nuances de passion" combined with that sweet melancholy which Stendhal considered essential in music—"qu'est ce que la musique sans la mélancolie"⁸—distinguishes Mozart from all other composers; "la première réflexion qui se présente sur 'Figaro', c'est que le musicien, dominé par sa sensibilité, a changé en véritables passions les goûts assez légers qui dans Beaumarchais amusent les aimables habitants du château d'Aguas-Frescas".⁹ In this sentence Stendhal anticipates many later writers on Mozart from Gounod to W. J. Turner. A recent critic writing on Beaumarchais's comedy mainly from the literary point of view expresses Stendhal's attitude completely in saying of Mozart's opera that

L'esprit de l'œuvre est entièrement modifié, transposé dans un plan supérieur, dégagé de tout ce que la verve un peu dégagée de Beaumarchais y avait mis de plébéien et de matériel... l'amour surtout y prend un tout autre aspect... ce qui était désir charnel devient chaste besoin d'aimer, la sensibilité se transforme en tendresse; les craintes et les émois y prennent un accent suave et pénétrant, grave aussi parfois, qu'ignorait l'ardeur un peu sèche des héros de Beaumarchais.¹¹

The phrase "besoin d'aimer" is very much in the Stendhalian manner!

This transfiguration of a satirical French comedy, first perceived by Stendhal, is particularly apparent in the arias of the page Cherubino and the Countess Almaviva. In the aria "Non so più" we have the

³ 'Rossini', I, 20.

⁴ 'Vies de Haydn, de Mozart et de Metastase', 104.

⁵ For exact observations on music's influence on the respiration and the circulatory system see Vincent (S) & Thompson (J. H.): 'Effects of Music upon Blood Pressure' ('Lancet', I, 534-7, 1929) and Miles (J. R.): 'Physiological Reaction to Music' ('Guy's Hospital Gazette', 49, 319-27, 1935). It is generally held that musical sounds are first perceived by the thalamus, or sub-cortical region of the brain, the centre of all sensations and aesthetic emotions including, no doubt, Stendhal's "plaisir tout physique et machinal".

⁶ 'Souvenirs d'egotisme', 71, 84.

⁷ 'Haydn', 79.

⁸ 'Rossini', I, 47.

⁹ 'Courrier anglais', I, 299.

¹⁰ 'Haydn', 322.

¹¹ F. Gaiffe, 'Le Mariage de Figaro' (1929)

expression of adolescent love, the intuition or anticipation of an emotion which puts Cherubino into a state of bewildered exuberance ineffably portrayed in the music. In contrast, the two great arias of the Countess, "Porgi amor" at the beginning of the second act and "Dove sono i bei momenti?" in the third, express love in retrospect, the memory of love since lost, and are filled with that languorous melancholy which Stendhal found in all Mozart's music. The introduction of clarinets playing in thirds gives added poignancy and was a favourite method of Mozart's for suggesting passion. In addition to mourning the vanished affection of her husband the Countess finds herself responding to Cherubino's youthful adoration with feelings that are half maternal, half erotic. She becomes in fact the mistress-mother type of woman which came into vogue with Rousseau, and may be said in this connection to transfer the rôle of Mme de Warens into opera. Here is another of those "nuances de passion" which so delighted Stendhal. The emotional range of the opera extends to all the main characters. Susanna's aria in the last act, "Deh vieni, non tardar", expresses a different stage of the emotions from those of Cherubino and the Countess, for this is the music of a woman actually in love waiting for her lover in a moonlit garden. After the absurd intrigues and mistaken identities, the moment Susanna begins to sing the action on the stage becomes pure poetry. In the arias of Figaro and Count Almaviva other emotions are developed, especially jealousy "ce tourment des cœurs tendres" in "Se vuol ballare", "Crudell! perchè finora?" and "Vedrò mentr'io sospiro". The latter aria, belonging to the third act, where the Count is pleading with Susanna, was one of Stendhal's favourites and is mentioned several times in his writings. Although he had the Italian predilection for novelty—"toute musique qui ne plaît pas d'abord à l'oreille n'est pas de la musique"¹²—he makes a special exception of "Vedrò mentr'io sospiro" declaring that after thirty or forty years it would not grow stale. Nor did he find anything in Rossini's 'Otello' to equal its portrayal of jealousy.¹³

The vitality, or pathos, of the vocal line is Stendhal's principal concern in opera, but he is aware also of the problem of balance between orchestra and voices. His idea of the function of the orchestra was that it should serve primarily to accompany the voices, but it might on occasion be allowed to represent scenes or sentiments which the singers on the stage were incapable of describing to the audience, tempests, for example, or any other situation impossible to reproduce in words. He gives as an instance the duet "Aprite, presto aprite" during the second act of 'Figaro', where Cherubino jumps out of the window to escape from Count Almaviva. Here it is the accompaniment which describes the action, not the voices. Mozart is master of these "deux genres de musique dramatique; celle où la voix est toute, et celle où la voix ne fait presque que nommer les sentiments que les instruments réveillent avec une si étonnante puissance".¹⁴ In another of his rare references to Mozart's instrumental music Stendhal notes as a special mark of his genius that "Mozart a su tirer un parti singulier des instruments à vent qui vont si bien à la mélancolie du Nord".¹⁵ Other German composers fall into the aesthetic error of allowing the instruments themselves to suggest emotions and ideas which the actors were very well able to tell the audience about themselves. At first this was the criticism which the Italians made of Mozart—"pas de chant pour les voix; du chant pour la clarinette, du

¹². 'Haydn', 104.

¹³. 'Racine et Shakespeare', 281.

¹⁴. 'Haydn', 2.

¹⁵. 'Rossini', II, 336.

chant pour le basson, mais rien, ou presque rien pour cet instrument admirable lorsqu'il ne crie pas, la voix humaine".¹⁶ He was considered about 1800 as a romantic barbarian about to invade the classic land of art in much the same manner as the French in the eighteenth century regarded Shakespeare as a mad genius who broke all the rules of tragedy yet revealed flashes of sublime beauty. One difficulty of course was that the Italian orchestras were incapable of playing Mozart's scores properly. 'Don Giovanni' was only performed competently in Rome in 1811 after secret practice, and then not completely. It was given again at Milan in 1814, 'Figaro' the following year and 'Die Zauberflöte' in 1816. By 1823 Stendhal could write "aujourd'hui Mozart est à peu près compris en Italie, mais il est loin d'y être senti. Son principal effet dans l'opinion publique a été de jeter au second rang Mayr, Weigl, Winter et toute la faction allemande".¹⁷ Stendhal continues with the statement that Mozart can never enjoy the same success in Italy as in Germany or England, for his music is not "calculée pour ce climat". This peculiar view, which however remains approximately true even to the present day, is mixed up with Stendhal's theories of love which he thinks varies in different climates: "l'amour n'est pas le même à Bologne et à Koenigsberg".¹⁸ In Italy love is more active, less of a nourishment for the imagination. Italian love burns like a flame, quickly destroys itself and leaves nothing behind. "C'est une fureur; or, la fureur ne peut être mélancolique",¹⁹ hence it follows that the melancholic nature of Mozart's music, which Stendhal considers absolutely fundamental, cannot make the same appeal to the Italian temperament as the vivacity and gaiety of a Cimarosa. He goes so far as to say that Mozart was gay only twice in his life, in Leporello's aria (*sic*) in 'Don Giovanni' inviting the statue of the Commendatore to dinner, and in 'Così fan tutte'. In another context he speaks of Figaro's song "Non più andrai" as "le seul air gai de Mozart", remarking with greater critical acumen than usual that "la mélodie de cet air est même assez commune; c'est l'expression qu'il prend à peu qui en fait tout le charme".²⁰ Among all these references to Mozart's supremacy "dans le genre tendre et mélancolique" the most extreme is the statement that "la pièce de 'Così fan tutte' était faite pour Cimarosa et tout à fait contraire au talent de Mozart, qui ne pouvait badiner avec l'amour. Cette passion était toujours pour lui le bonheur et le malheur de la vie".²¹ Of a performance of 'Così' at the Scala in Milan he writes: "musique suave, mais c'est une comédie et Mozart ne me plaît que lorsqu'il a exprimé mélancolie douce et rêveuse".²² No such objection, however, is made to 'Die Zauberflöte', the most German of Mozart's operas and the one which might be expected least to appeal to Stendhal on account of the pantomime clowning of Papagano.

Il faut absolument avoir vu 'La Flûte enchantée' pour s'en faire une idée. La pièce, qui ressemble aux jeux d'une imagination tendre en délire, est divinement d'accord avec le talent du musicien. . . . C'est une musique faite pour un petit théâtre et toute pleine d'effets de miniature.²³

It is interesting to contrast this plea for intimate performances of 'Die Zauberflöte' with the grandiose Egyptian productions which have

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 226.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 45.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 47.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 47.

²⁰ 'Haydn', 326.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 330.

²² 'Journal', III, 208.

²³ 'Haydn', 328; 'Pages d'Italie', 69.

been the fashion ever since Schinkel designed the monumental settings for the Berlin Opera House in 1816.

Comparisons between Mozart and Rossini provide the occasion for some of Stendhal's most startling aphorisms and reveal with even greater clarity Mozart's peculiar rôle in the "peinture des sentiments". The two composers supplement each other, appealing to a slightly different audience. Mozart represented melancholy and reverie, Rossini vivacity and speed. "Rossini amuse toujours, Mozart n'amuse jamais",²⁴ yet Stendhal is bold enough to prophecy (in 1824!) that Mozart will still be praised when Rossini's star has waned. The trouble with Rossini was that he considered the passion of love "comme une simple affaire de galanterie et de la dissipation . . . en un mot il n'est jamais triste".²⁵ The spirit of Beaumarchais again! He only began to resemble Mozart when in later years he acquired something of "le style fort" of the Germans. In developing this idea Stendhal makes the extraordinary remark that Mozart and Rossini developed in opposite directions. "Mozart aurait fini peut-être par s'italianiser tout à fait. Rossini finira peut-être par être plus allemand que Beethoven".²⁶ This is not quite the rubbish it sounds, for Stendhal was thinking of Mozart's last opera but one, 'La clemenza di Tito', which is a reversion to the older type of Italian *opera seria* away from the *buffa* style of 'Don Giovanni'. The preference of the Emperor Joseph II for Italian opera may also have caused Mozart to italianize his music; and in remembering that 'Die Zauberflöte' followed 'Tito' and that this latter work was specially commissioned for the Emperor Leopold II's coronation at Prague in 1791 it is more probable that Mozart's italianization was merely the artificial result of court patronage. In the case of Rossini there is some basis for Stendhal's theory, for in his Paris period he became notorious for his blatant orchestration and general noisiness—then considered typically Teutonic faults.

I have not exhausted Stendhal's references to Mozart, but enough have been given to show his enthusiastic if limited response to the music of his favourite composer. The sincerest testimony to his feelings about Mozart is the fact that similar tastes are attributed to the characters in his novels. In 'Armance' (1827) the hero Octave de Malivet, after his first paroxysm of introspection, played an entire act of 'Don Giovanni' on the piano until "les accords si sombres de Mozart lui rendirent la paix de l'âme".²⁷ This therapeutic quality reappears in 'La Chartreuse de Parme' (1839). Fabrice's distress when he sees his mistress Clelia received at court as the wife of the Marchese Crescenzi was only assuaged when "une symphonie de Mozart, horriblement écorchée, comme c'est l'usage en Italie, vint à son secours et l'aïda à sécher ses larmes".²⁸ Both young men resemble Stendhal himself in discovering that during "les jours de bonheur vous préférez Cimarosa; dans les moments de tristesse Mozart aura l'avantage".²⁹

It is easy to dismiss these opinions as those of a typical *littérateur*; one may also agree with Professor F. C. Green that "music was for Stendhal entirely a reservoir of sensations".³⁰ Yet his appreciation of Mozart was more mature than that of most people of his generation, and certainly in advance of that state of mind so common in the later nineteenth century

²⁴. 'Rossini', I, 49.

²⁵. 'Courrier anglais', I, 299.

²⁶. 'Rossini', II, 203.

²⁷. 'Armance', 34.

²⁸. 'Chartreuse', II, 410.

²⁹. 'Haydn', 234.

³⁰. F. C. Green, 'Stendhal', 187 (1939).

which saw only the childlike element in Mozart's music and placed him in a world of dainty shepherdesses and court minuets. Stendhal looked deeper and found in Mozart the "union of an exquisite ear with an impassioned heart" expressing itself in music of a ravishing tenderness and melancholy which revealed a profound knowledge of the human heart in every stage of love. This refinement of the erotic sentiment distinguished Mozart both from his German and Italian predecessors. He could not "badiner avec l'amour". The same conclusion, it may be noted, was reached by the Danish philosopher Kierkegaard in an essay called 'The Immediate Stages of the Erotic, or the Musical-Erotic' (1843), a profound study of the sensuous basis of music as shown in an analysis of 'Don Giovanni'.³¹ But whereas in the case of Kierkegaard the material is developed in a philosophical essay which has won the respect both of musician and philosopher, Stendhal's references to Mozart are scattered through his writings without order or development. He never systematized his ideas on music and nobody else can do so for him. The states of mind which we loosely describe as classical and romantic are of little help in defining his complex personality. He combined the scepticism and intellectual curiosity of the eighteenth century with a nineteenth-century cult of the emotions, and it is possible to discern a parallel synthesis in his approach to music. He valued Mozart mainly for his operas, preferred melody to harmony and set vocal music above instrumental. He belonged, in fact, to the last half of the eighteenth century, and the kind of music which appealed to him was that described by C. P. E. Bach as "der galante Stil"—agreeable and fluent melody combined with versatility of sentiment. This was the music in fashion during Mozart's youth, represented instrumentally by John Christian Bach and in opera by the third and last Neapolitan school. But to the melodies of Piccinni, Sarti, Sacchini and Paisiello which Stendhal found echoed in Mozart there was added a new romantic intensity of feeling which gave him profound but indefinite sensations only to be expressed in terms of love or melancholy. In spite of his impatience with German philosophy, Kant's definition of music as "die Kunst des schönen Spiels der Empfindung" is an accurate description of Stendhal's own experience. The inconsistencies and exaggerations in his writings become less violent when we realize that although he preferred the music of the eighteenth century he listened to it with all the subjective fervour of his romantic generation. The ultimate and most confident assertion of this romantic attitude towards music is surely reached when Stendhal writes "Rien n'est donc plus absurde que toute discussion sur la musique. On la sent ou on ne la sent pas; puis c'est tout".³² Against this argument there is nothing more to be said, and the last word must be left with Stendhal.

³¹. See 'Kierkegaard and Mozart' by the Rev. T. H. Croxall ('Music & Letters', Vol. XXVI, No. 3, July 1945).

³². 'Haydn', 358.

SHUDI AND THE "VENETIAN SWELL"

BY ERIC HALFPENNY

ON December 18th 1769 Burkat Shudi, the celebrated London harpsichord maker, registered a patent for "A piece of Mechanism or Machinery by which the Harpsichord is very much improved". The patent was for the usual term of fourteen years and was limited in its application to England, Wales and the Town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, under the old Act of 1623.

The specification is a brief document stating in a single sentence of peculiar syntax that

The said piece of mechanism or machinery invented by him . . . doth consist of a cover extending the breadth of the harpsichord, and from the front board of the harpsichord to the ruler of an indefinite number of valves, with which their frame extend the breadth of the harpsichord, and the length hereof from the ruler to the small end, which valves are opened and shut by a number of small levers equal to the number of valves inserted or fixed in an axis, spindle or bar turned by a pedal.

If one is already familiar with that device, it is possible to discern in the foregoing a description of the Venetian swell, which is commonly supposed to have originated therein. The specification, however, does not name it so, nor does it state the precise purpose which the invention was intended to fulfil. That purpose, so we are told, was to introduce on an instrument of fixed dynamic levels the additional amenity of a graded *crescendo* and *diminuendo*—a musical device by no means unknown before the mid-eighteenth century, but only then becoming fashionable in the homophonic textures of the post-Bach-Handel period.

It is generally inferred that the introduction of the pianoforte into England may have impelled Shudi thus to enhance the capabilities of the harpsichord, in self-defence. It is, however, only just possible that the influence of the embryonic pianoforte on public taste may by then have been a sufficient revelation of the writing on the wall. Zumpe, who was undoubtedly the first successful pianoforte maker in this country, is stated by Burney to have come here about 1760, and to have entered the service of Shudi. He was, however, in business on his own account at 7 Princes Street, Hanover Square, by 1761, and the earliest surviving specimen of his work is not a piano but a mandora, dated 1764, now in the Glen Collection at Glasgow. In point of fact, no evidence of his pianoforte-making activities now existing dates from before the year 1766, when the remarkable instrument now in the Broadwood Collection was made. This, the first known English-built pianoforte is the work of an accomplished craftsman who had nothing to learn; but it is also something of a freak in that, except at the extremes of the keyboard, the black keys are divided fore-and-aft to accommodate, so it is said, that bulwark of British musical conservatism, mean-tone intonation.¹

The peculiarity of this *tour-de-force* has hitherto escaped comment. Not only does it impose unique technical problems of scaling and lay-out—a bicord square pianoforte of as many as 77 notes was not again to be attempted until towards the close of the century—but it suggests that the emphasis of the experiment was on the mean-tone clavier rather than a conscious essay in pianoforte manufacture. It may be, in fact, that the English square pianoforte was itself created in the course of

¹ The five additional notes per octave provided alternative tunings for each chromatic semitone, giving a wider range of tonalities in mean-tone temperament than was possible on the normal keyboard. See L. S. Lloyd, 'The Lesson of Mean-tone Tuning', 'Music Review', Vol. V, No. 4.

this experiment. Neither the divided sharps nor the piano-idea, of course, was by any means new at this time; and the clavichord form had been adapted to the pianoforte in Germany a quarter of a century before; but Zumpe, perhaps in choosing the simplest expedients practicable for a demonstration of the mean-tone keyboard, appears to have hit on something very much to the public taste—a compact instrument of good appearance, considerable tonal power for its size, easy to maintain and, within narrow limits, capable of the dynamic graduation so much admired from this time forth. It is not until the following year that traces begin to appear of the rising popularity of the instrument. The earliest *normal* specimen of a Zumpe piano is that dated 1767, in the Victoria and Albert Museum. Apart from this, however, a batch of literary references appearing in the same year suggest the extreme novelty of the instrument in England at this time. Its public *début* is recorded in the well-known theatre bill of the Brickler benefit concert, where Dibdin accompanied Miss Brickler on the "new instrument". A letter from the poet Gray to the Rev. William Mason, alluding to Zumpe, is quoted in Grove; while a further letter, from Lawrence Sterne to Eliza Draper is worth reproducing, as it does not appear to have been noticed before:

I have been with Zumpe; and your pianoforte must be tuned from the brass middle string of your guittar, which is C. I have got you a hammer too, and a pair of pliers to twist your wire with; and may every one of them, my dear, vibrate sweet comfort to my hopes!

John Christian Bach came over to England in 1762. His partiality for the pianoforte is traditionally held to have been influential in establishing the instrument here, but there is nothing to show that his preference pre-dates his knowledge of Zumpe's work. His Op. 5, the first of his compositions in which the pianoforte is expressly mentioned, dates from 1768, and in the same year he made his first public appearance as a pianist, at a Fischer benefit concert, when, as Terry has shown, he seems to have used a Zumpe piano, for which he paid the sum of fifty pounds. This may have been built to his requirements in the harpsichord form which he is said to have favoured, but is more likely to have been one of Zumpe's ordinary instruments. In either case, the price, at a time when a single-manual harpsichord could be had for as little as thirty-five guineas, could only have been obtained when the pianoforte was extremely new and extremely rare.

The above evidence seems to indicate that the famous "boom" in instruments of the pianoforte class in England had scarcely begun by the time that Shudi would presumably have been trying out the swell, prior to patenting it. We have, moreover, the authority of Dr. Rosamond Harding for the statement that Shudi did not, in fact, invent the swell, but was merely its patentee in England; though she is incorrect in stating that Shudi patented it under the name by which it subsequently went. As we have seen, he made no specific claim as to the function of the "invention", and certainly gave it no name.

A tradition has persisted that Shudi was using this device some little time before the appearance of his patent. This tradition is associated with the instruments made for Frederick the Great—No. 496, dated 1765 (Breslau), and Nos. 511 and 512, dated 1766 (Berlin)—neither of which, however, were so fitted, the previous evidence to the contrary having been disposed of by the late Canon F. W. Galpin ('Monthly Musical Record', June 1933).² Two other pre-1769 instruments are, however,

² It is worth placing on record that one, at least, of the Berlin instruments appears to have survived the war, having been seen by Mr. W. J. Pook at the Sans Souci Palace during the visit of the R.A.F. Symphony Orchestra to Potsdam in 1945. It is to be hoped that it will be allowed to remain there.

extant, fitted with the swell. Of these, the earlier, No. 407, dated 1760 (Dale Collection), is categorically stated by Hipkins to have had the swell added later; but it is perhaps on the evidence of this instrument that Sachs attributes the invention of the swell to Shudi "about 1760". There appears no reason to doubt that the swell on the other example, No. 529 dated 1766, now at Edinburgh in the possession of Mr. Harry Hodge is contemporary work, although it must be allowed that the margin of priority over the patent is slight enough to admit of the possibility of a later addition. The patented device was regarded by Shudi himself as an "extra", for which the sum of £10 was charged. Not everyone at this time would care to pay this amount for a new and untried "gadget", especially so early in the period of change, when its utility might be less apparent; but it is quite within the bounds of possibility that some of Shudi's patrons would wish to have it fitted to instruments recently pre-dating its introduction.

If indeed the swell dates from 1766, its omission from the two elaborate instruments made for Frederick the Great in that year is notable. This may, however, be explained by the numerical gap between Nos. 511 and 529, which corresponds roughly with the average annual output of harpsichords over the whole period of their production by Shudi and his later associates. Allowing this to have been exceeded by Shudi at the height of his fame, several months must still have separated the later instrument from the earlier pair. In 1767 there appeared in the 'Gazetteer' a series of acrimonious advertisements put out by Burkat Shudi and his nephew, Joshua,³ in which the former asserts that he had never communicated his "mystery" to anyone. In Dale's opinion this word referred to the *métier*, or craft of harpsichord-making, but this seems hardly admissible in view of the presence, from the year 1761, of John Broadwood, among others, in his workshop. The reference may have been to the actual or projected introduction of the swell, which can hardly have been in contemplation much before this time. If Shudi's swell was in being towards the end of the decade 1760-69, it is perhaps to an element of Scots caution introduced into the business by the union of his daughter with John Broadwood in 1769 and the latter's admission into partnership in 1770 that the registration of the patent is due.

There is, however, some evidence that the Venetian swell was already in use in Ireland in 1769. In 1735 Ferdinand Weber came out of his indentures with the organ-builder Johann Ernst Hähnel of Meissen, and after some delay in obtaining his certificate of apprenticeship, signed and sealed three years later, he came to Dublin at the age of twenty-four and set up business in Werburgh Street. For forty-five years Weber plied his trade in that city, becoming the most esteemed harpsichord maker in Ireland. His interest to us here lies in the fact that the two known surviving examples of his work are both fitted with the Venetian swell. These instruments, respectively in the National Museum, Dublin, and in private hands in County Derry, are almost identical, both being single-manual instruments of four stops and two *genouillères* or knee-levers. The instrument in Co. Derry is owned by the descendants of its original owner, who is known to have possessed it in 1778. It is well documented, and the possibility of the swell having been added later must be dismissed, as the instrument had been located in the North since leaving the workshop. The Dublin specimen, having an exactly similar fitment, has been figured by Grattan Flood in the 'Journal of the Royal Society of

³ Born 1730, died 1774. His autograph appears on the underside of the belly of No. 529, referred to in the text, in a position which suggests that he was responsible for this important work. If so, it is possibly the last thing he did in Burkat's workshop, and the breakaway could have occurred no earlier than the end of 1766. His riposte to his uncle, quoted by Dale, is dated January 12th 1767.

Antiquaries of Ireland, Vol. XXXIX, 1910, on whose authority the date is given as 1768-69. A re-check of this date may reveal it to have been speculative, although Flood had access to the papers of the Weber-Smyth family in compiling his notes. Assuming its correctness, however, the two usages invite comparative criticism.

In principle, of course, the Weber and Shudi swells are the same. Both consist of a frame fitting down flush inside the top of the case, over the strings and soundboard, which carries a series of slats or louvers arranged parallel with the straight side, and diminishing in length towards the treble. Each of these is pivoted near one edge, and both edges are bevelled or rebated to ensure a flush fit with its neighbours when closed. A rolling lever transverses the instrument just below the shutter-frame, and on this are a series of arms projecting at right angles and corresponding with the number of louvers, whose function it is to lift the free edges of the latter when the lever-spindle is rotated. In order to give access to the strings, the shutter-frame is hinged to the straight side and, in fact, forms an inner lid to the instrument.

The differences lie in the application of this principle. In the Weber harpsichords, the lever-spindle crosses the case, where it is carried on each side in bearings, just behind the back row of jacks, and is operated by a simple pull-down wire, passing from an arm at the left-hand end of the spindle, through the case bottom to the tail of the right knee-lever, which is pivoted centrally beneath the case and is splayed across from the front right-hand of the instrument. The number of louvers is eight, and the corresponding arms have polished ball-ends which make a sliding contact direct with the under surfaces of the louvers.

The Shudi mechanism is more subtle. In this the lever-spindle is slung direct to the underside of the shutter-frame, and the arms, which are shorter, come closer beneath the louvers, where they bear against pads of leather to obviate noise in operation. But since provision has to be made for raising the frame, the spindle cannot be permanently connected with the operating mechanism in the case of the instrument. Consequently a species of dog-clutch has been evolved, whereby the spindle-end engages a boss in the side of the case when in the lowered position, the connection being broken when the shutter-frame is lifted. The boss is rotated by levers connected with the pull-down of the right pedal, most of the mechanism being concealed within the walls of the case. The number of louvers on a five-octave Shudi is ten, while those instruments with the additional notes to C_1 are furnished with eleven. The lifting of the Shudi swell frame appears to have been exceptional and for maintenance purposes only, while on the Weber instruments it could be strutted with the lid and thus dispensed with in performance if desired. The quieter, less robust quality of the Shudi tone, compared with that of Kirkman, noted by Burney and still observable, is almost certainly due in part to the presence of the swell on all later specimens.

These comparisons show the Weber mechanism to have been cruder and less positive, adjunct rather than integral and, although the evidence is by no means conclusive, it lends colour to the view that this rudimentary type preceded and suggested the more complex Shudi version of the swell, if indeed the question of emulation on the part of either maker does arise. The fact that Weber was a trained organ-builder increases the likelihood that he already had practical experience of the "Nag's Head" swell invented by Jordan in 1711-12. The value of a swell of any type would be more apparent to the organ-builder than to the stringed-keyboard specialist, and it is remarkable that it should be so widely and unquestioningly accepted that the improved form did, in fact, pass from the

harpsichord to the organ, and not *vice versa*. The only dissentient voice among recent authorities is that of Karl Geiringer who, in his English publication, 'Musical Instruments' (1943), fathers the Venetian swell on the organ-builder Samuel Green (1740-96), making Shudi his imitator on the harpsichord, a reversal of all previous text-book statements on the subject. No evidence is advanced, but if Green can be shown to have installed such a device in, say, his twenty-fifth year this might be possible and would provide a common ground from which our two protagonists might have worked.

Finally, we must observe that the precise function of the Venetian swell as applied to horizontally-strung keyboard instruments is not quite the same as when used on the organ, chiefly on account of the difference between its effect upon sustained and evanescent sounds. In stringed keyboard instruments the total occlusion of the sound radiating from the upper surface of the soundboard, as when the lid is closed, while to some extent affecting the dynamic, modifies the timbre to a considerably greater degree. The "open" tone and the "closed" tone are so markedly different that the transition from one to the other is almost abrupt and tends to efface any effect of gradual *crescendo* and *diminuendo* resulting from a use of the swell. The value of this device, on the harpsichord in particular, therefore lies not so much in its contribution to a build-up to, or collapse away from, a climax in dynamic—which on all larger eighteenth-century instruments is already taken care of by the "machine"—as in the capacity it gives for note-to-note nuance and for timbre-modification within notes already sounding. On the early square pianoforte these varieties of timbre could be controlled in some measure by raising the side flap over the soundboard, which was sometimes done by means of a pedal. But William Southwell, Weber's apprentice, took over his master's Venetian swell, together with the *genouillère*, and used it on the exquisite semi-circular "side-table" pianos which he made while still in Ireland. Notwithstanding Broadwood's reluctance to fit a Venetian swell to a grand piano in 1799, its addition to these side-table instruments appears eminently sensible; for, as they can be played only with the table top raised, the swell furnishes the "closed" tone not otherwise obtainable.

The greater body of tone in the modern instrument, and the well-established resources of the damper pedal, render so mechanical a device no longer necessary. The open and closed tone of the modern grand pianoforte are, however, recognizable entities, and are still discriminated between for different purposes on our concert platforms.

The conclusions reached in these notes are mainly inferential, and certainly do not succeed in dislodging Shudi entirely from the niche he has hitherto occupied in instrumental histories. There does, however, seem to be good reason to doubt that he was the exclusive pioneer of the Venetian swell, which, whatever its origin, is still in use on the only instrument to which it is essentially adapted, the pipe organ.

AN EARLY INSTANCE OF COPYRIGHT— VENICE 1622

BY PETER GRADENWITZ

THOUGH copyright protection is known to have been given to printers as early as 1491 (Venice), an author's right in his creations is supposed to have been first recognized in 1710 (Statute of Anne).¹ It was only then that an author became protected against the reprinting, rearranging, distortion or misuse of literary and musical works. The date, of course, cannot be regarded as a mere coincidence, especially as regards music. Copyright legislation began at a time when music gradually ceased to be the privilege of princes and church, when the composer's works first found their way to a larger audience, to a public unknown to him, and when public concerts and the development of music-printing made him lose his immediate and direct control over the distribution of his works.

An interesting and apparently unique case of copyright provisions in an author's favour in early seventeenth-century Venice has recently come to my attention.² It is contained in a decree issued by four famous Jewish scholars, under State authority, and printed in a volume of music that has frequently been studied without any attention being paid to the contents of the preface. In 1622 there appeared in Venice, printed by Pietro and Lorenzo Bragadini, 'Ha-shirim Asher L'Shlomo', the book of religious songs composed by Salomone Rossi "Ebreo", the well-known Jewish violinist and composer at the Gonzaga Court of Mantua. Rossi has his place in general music history through his forceful and novel contributions to the early literature of the chamber sonatas (trio sonatas); in Jewish history he is important as the first "reformer" of Synagogal music, for his musical versions of the ancient Hebrew texts are conceived in the style of the madrigal period without the composer's ever using ancient motives or chants. (It is interesting to note that on the other hand Benedetto Marcello, a gentile composer, did use synagogal motives in his Psalms about a century after Rossi.) Rossi's songs in the edition of 1622 are preceded by a lengthy preface by Rabbi Leone (Yehuda Arie) da Modena, a scholar of many interests who seems to have had a good musical education himself. In this preface the place of music in the synagogue in general and Rossi's reforms in particular are eloquently defended.

But neither Leone da Modena's preface, in itself a document of the greatest importance for the student of the early seventeenth century, nor the composer's own prefatory dedication, contains the copyright notice referred to. The actual music is preceded by a notice signed by four rabbis, Leone da Modena among them, in which the reprint or sale of an "unauthorized version" of Rossi's music is prohibited in the strongest terms. Though Leone da Modena's preface has been reprinted—in its original Hebrew as well as in French (in Samuel Naumbourg's edition of Rossi's music) and in German (in Paul Nettl's 'Alte jüdische Spielleute und Musiker', Prague, 1923)—I know of no reprint, translation or mention of this most interesting decree, a translation of which follows.³

¹ An historical survey of Copyright is contained in 'The International Encyclopedia of Music and Musicians', ed. by Oscar Thompson, New York and London, 1938 and 1944, pp. 374 ff.

² I am indebted to Mr Ephraim Troche, who first drew my attention to the document during our collaboration for the chapters on Ancient and Medieval Hebrew Music in my book 'The Music of Israel' (published by Rubin Mass, Jerusalem, 1945—so far in Hebrew only) and who has also collaborated in the translation and interpretation of the document.

³ Additions or explanations by the present writer are given in square brackets.

We are [herewith] complying with the justified request of the Right Honourable Salomone Rossi of Mantua, may God bless him, who has laboured much and was the first ever to print Hebrew music.⁴ He has [however] issued a deficient⁵ edition, and he ought not to come to harm by anybody's [? re-] printing them [i.e. copies of this edition] or by their being purchased from any person. Therefore, after having been granted permission from the distinguished Court authorities,⁶ we, the signatories to this document, herewith issue a strict prohibition, by the decree of the watchers and the word of the Holy Ones, and by the bite of the serpent,⁷ that no Jew, wherever he may be, may print under any circumstances within fifteen years from this day the above-mentioned work, the music, or part thereof, without the consent of its author or his heirs, nor may any Jew, according to this decree, buy from any person, whether Jewish or not, copies of any of these compositions, without the composer's having authorized their sale by a special mark on them. And every son of Israel shall hear [the words of this edict] and take care not to be entangled in the net of this curse—and the obedient shall dwell in peace and abide under the shadow of the Almighty.⁸

With the blessing of Amen,

Izhaq Gershon
Moses Cohen Port
Yehuda Arie of Modena
Simha Luzzato

Venice, Heshvan 5383 (= Winter 1622).

Though an indisputable interpretation of the decree seems to be impossible, there can be no doubt as to its copyright provisions; they are the more interesting as they are vested in the author for the limited period of fifteen years. To-day only a small number of separate parts of the songs is extant and no variants have been discovered so far in the copies that have come down to us. It seems that the "deficient" version has not been preserved, to the satisfaction of the rabbinical signatories and the composer in whose favour they issued their decree, but to the utter dissatisfaction of the modern scholar, who would certainly be glad to know what kind of "deficiency" was deplored by one of the foremost masters in the Golden Age of Italian music.

⁴ This is the first instance known of the term "Hebrew music" being used in a Hebrew document.

⁵ The meaning of the Hebrew word used here ("biliti-msuderet") is dubious. Literally it means "not in order". This may be interpreted as "containing errors" (on the part of the composer or of the printer), as "incorrect", or as "not arranged" with regard to the printers' or authors' rights.

⁶ The word used in the Hebrew original is derived from the Latin "actor", "actuar", "actuarium", and means a Law Court office=Execution office.

⁷ The words here used for the ban or curse are condensed from passages from Daniel iv. 17: "By the decrees of the watchers, and the demand by the word of the Holy Ones" (according to Rabbinical interpretation, "watchers"—literally "angels" or "guardians"—and "Holy Ones" stand for "Jewish scholars") and from Ecclesiasticus x. 8: "And whoso breaketh an hedge, a serpent shall bite him." The condensed phrase became the official formula for decrees of this kind.

⁸ The concluding formula is taken from Psalm xci. 1.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Free Thought and the Musician, and Other Essays. By Ernest Walker. pp. 172. (Oxford University Press, 1946.) 8s. 6d.

Here we are in good company. Every one who reads the musical periodicals has for long appreciated that the signature Ernest Walker stood for a finely cultivated mind, exquisite musicianship, a memory stored with classical lore and classic performances, criticism as searching as courteous, and some Oxonian whims. Not the least of his occasional pieces but has precisely dotted or crossed some i or t, put right a slip of thoughtlessness or ignorance, or thrown up some happy illustration from learning or experience. Did someone, writing about Schubert, rashly say that 'Im Walde' had probably never been publicly sung in London? At once Dr. Walker (in a critique not here reprinted) recalled that David Bispham had nobly coped with the magnificent piece in the old days of the St. James's Hall.

When Friedländer wrote a book about Brahms's songs he did not mention that the opening bars of 'Es liebt sich so lieblich im Lenz' were not Brahms's at all, but Julius Stockhausen's. Dr. Walker tells the story here. Stockhausen's setting of Heine's poem was published at Vienna in 1871 and dedicated to Brahms. Six years later Brahms re-wrote the song, using Stockhausen's opening bars, and sent it to Stockhausen as a christening present for his infant son, Brahms's god-child. Dr. Walker's comment is: "A more sensitive man than Brahms might have hesitated . . . before offering a gift so markedly like an unsolicited composition-lesson." This is apparently an anecdote in the literal sense of that word, like Dr. Walker's Tennyson anecdote. "Why", asked Tennyson, "do these damned musicians make me say a thing twice when I say it only once?" And as good an anecdote (again in the literal sense) is the story, in a paper on the memorizing of music, of Joachim's writing out, in his copy of the first violin part of Mozart's Quartet in G, a dozen bars in the margin, "simply because the turn was inconvenient and he would not trust to his memory".

The Stockhausen story occurs in an essay that sends the reader to his cupboard to turn up Brahms's Heine songs (all unfamiliar save one), and may induce some singer to perform all six of them as a group. Indeed the reading of Dr. Walker's essays is interrupted again and again by recourse to the bookshelf. His allusion, for instance, to the music-loving Jesus, son of Sirach, sends one to the 32nd chapter of 'Ecclesiasticus'—only to regret that that book was excluded from the sacred canon, if only in the interest of good manners in the concert-room. "A concert of music in a banquet of wine", says the son of Sirach, "is as a signet of carbuncle set in gold". And he adjures: "Hinder not music; pour not out words where there is a musician, and show not forth wisdom out of time."

A paper on misprints, or rather on composers' *lapsus calami* perpetuated by over-faithfulness, sends us to the scores of Beethoven's 7th and 9th Symphonies, to Schubert's C major Quintet and to Dvořák's "New World". "Occasional misprints", says Dr. Walker, "that would not mislead a child need not be considered". But I am not so sure, and should have welcomed a selection from Dr. Walker's discoveries of printers' howlers. For forty years the Simrock edition of Brahms's 'Four Serious Songs' went on reproducing misprints which should, no doubt, not have misled a child but which have—what with Brahms's prestige and Simrock's—been in point of fact acquiesced in by others than children. Dr. Walker points to a mistake made by Schumann—or, if not a mistake, an unwarrantable alteration—in the text of the 'Dichterliebe'. We know that Schubert misquoted Goethe in 'Grenzen der Menschheit', but nothing is easier than to restore "treu" for "tief". In 'Das ist ein Flöten und Geigen' however, Schumann altered "die guten Engelein" to "die lieblichen Engelein". Dr. Walker recommends the singer to restore Heine's epithet, though the suppression of a syllable or, rather, note will surprise the average listener.

On the whole it is the papers on the great German song-writers which afford the reader the principal pleasure. The essay (first published in 'Music & Letters') which gives the book its title is something different, being a plea for the musician, organist or teacher, who, rationalist or agnostic in opinion, finds himself required to assist at liturgies or, at the least, "to supervise the preparation of hymns", inconsistent with that opinion. Dr. Walker years ago resigned an Oxford organist's post on the grounds of such incompatibility, and he looks forward to the time when "non-ecclesiastical organ appointments cease to be the rarities they now are". There are some curious figures of speech in this essay, "the left wing" standing for agnosticism and the like, and "the right wing" for the Christian faith; and Dr. Walker does not hesitate to equate the Church with "the tents of Kedar" ("Woe is me, that I sojourn in Mesech, that I dwell in the tents of Kedar!"), so he represents the free-thinking organist as groaning—and even with "the house of Rimmon". Balliol Chapel a house of Rimmon! Anyhow, Dr. Walker's scruples were finer than Naaman's in the old story,¹ his conscience less lenient than the

¹ "When my master goeth into the House of Rimmon to worship there, and he leaneth on my hand, and I bow myself in the House of Rimmon, the Lord pardon thy servant in this thing. And Elisha said unto him, Go in peace." (2 Kings v. 17-18.)

Syrian field-marshal's spiritual adviser, austere though Elisha was by nature. But while his Balliol resignation exacts the respect due to high scrupulousness, there seems to be a failure to establish a general grievance.

In the course of this essay Dr. Walker expatiates on the secularization of choral music in the nineteenth century, and here and again later in the book he propounds a view of Brahms's Requiem which will strike some as rather far-fetched. The Requiem was "the beginning of the end" of Christian oratorio. It was "a herald of revolt". The text was "divorced from any specifically Christian elements". The title itself, 'A German Requiem', involved "the commandeering of the name hitherto associated exclusively with the ritual of the Roman Church". "Divorced from Christian elements" seems a strange description of a text that begins with the second Beatitude and proceeds to St. Paul's vision of Resurrection. As for the title, is it true that before Brahms the word Requiem had been "associated exclusively with the ritual of the Roman Church"? Years before Brahms's Op. 45 Schumann had written a 'Requiem for Mignon', not to speak of the Héloïse-Abelard song in his Op. 90. And before that there had been a German Requiem by Schubert's brother Ferdinand. Our poets' birds were singing requiems in Jacobean times. And then, "German"—does it mean more than an advertisement of the German text, like the German Passions and German Magnificats of an earlier age? For this reason Brahms's Op. 45 is, when sung in English, not 'A German Requiem'.

It is tempting to follow up other trails—Dr. Walker's defence, for instance, of Wagnerian extracts in concert programmes ("Practically everything that makes Wagner great can be heard without entering a theatre. . . . The greatness of any dramatic music is not really diminished in the concert-room; on the contrary, we have the advantage of hearing it in its purity.") Half a truth, perhaps; but it is arguable that the other half is fallacy.

R. C.

British Music of our Time. Edited by A. L. Bacharach. pp. 256. (Pelican Books, Harmondsworth, 1946.) 1s.

Music. By Sir Henry Hadow. (Home University Library.) Second Edition. pp. 256. (Oxford University Press, 1946.) 3s. 6d.

Mr. Bacharach's latest symposium begins with an impressively printed "Dedication to the Memories of Edwin Evans and Henry S. Wood for their Unsurpassed Services to British Music of Our Time". Who is Henry S. Wood? Never heard of him! Even if one makes the obvious emendation, is there not some confusion of values in this apposition of two such different kinds of service? Half a dozen words of definition (there is a whole page of space) would have given the Dedication a precise historical value. If I mention this unfortunate beginning of an extraordinarily useful compilation, it is not out of malice, but out of a conviction that the book suffers from the lack of clear outline. There is no design in it.

Mr. Bacharach boldly calls the volume "unabashed propaganda". That is exactly what it ought to be. The composers of our time need to be thrust upon the reader's attention. Happily the propagandists are not aggressive. They tell us what we need to know. They write about the music and do not lapse into irrelevant personalities. This can hardly be an accident, and must be the result of sound editorial control.

The major subjects are Delius, Holst, Warlock, Bridge, Vaughan Williams, Ireland, Bax, Goossens, Walton, Bliss, Berners, Lambert, Moeran, Rubbra and Britten, and the authors are all well-known writers on music. Lack of space prevents discussion of individual contributors, but it may justly be said that, in one way or another, all are good, though some incline more to journalism than to criticism. On this point something will be said later. Scott Goddard's essay on Vaughan Williams is a careful account of a difficult and complex subject—the most difficult in the volume. At the other end of the scale, Hubert Foss's notice of Peter Warlock very properly makes no attempt to magnify what was in substance a small but precious contribution to music. Personally I was greatly interested in the essay on Rubbra by Arthur Hutchings, because Rubbra seems to me to have "the large utterance of the early gods". Our symphonists are short-winded. They announce a subject, but cannot hold it, and jump to another. That is to say, they are fidgety. We have too many fidgety musicians. Rubbra has the true sequential eloquence of a symphonist. It would be out of my part to discuss his music; so I just point to his power of composing great musical paragraphs as a source of special pleasure to me. I wonder if I am supported by the fact that Rubbra is the only person in the book allowed the distinction of musical quotations. The essay gives not the slightest scrap of personal information about him.

Scott Goddard leads off with a discussion of "The Nineteenth-Century Origins" and calls attention to the influence of Mendelssohn, Grove, Parry, Stanford, Mackenzie, etc. I suggest that a potent influence was that of the press, and specially of Joseph Bennett in 'The Daily Telegraph'—"the largest circulation in the world". Bennett, fulminating against Wagner, led music by the nose. For all the provincial festivals, which then counted for so much, he wrote numerous libretti which could only be set in the traditional manner. 'The Dream of Gerontius' came to grief in 1900 because the text

was not by Joseph Bennett. The performers were confronted by two extraordinary phenomena at once, a religious composer and a religious poem. Instead of Bennett's Telegraphese there was Newman's ecstatic vision. Instead of imitation Mendelssohn there was aboriginal Elgar. It is impossible to ignore the dead weight laid upon English music by Joseph Bennett and the D.T. The only modern critic in the late eighties and early nineties was Bernard Shaw; but his public was small and his career short. His advocacy of Wagner was weakened by a stupid antipathy to Brahms. The music criticism of the leading papers before the halfpenny dailies dawned on our world was an influence that must not be ignored in any historical survey.

And now a word about journalism and criticism. I note in this volume the persistence of superstition about what is called "the Edwardian period", represented as an opulent time of wasteful and ridiculous excess. What are the facts? Edward VII was king for nine years. Can nine years form an artistic epoch? And were they splendid and carefree? The South African War was not ended till the second year of the king's reign, and there was a strong reaction of feeling against Rand mining magnates and Chamberlain's Imperialism. Wells produced his first three volumes of Utopian planning and Shaw at last caught the ear of the general public. The Women's Social and Political Union was founded in 1903. In 1906 a general election drove the Conservatives from power and a large Liberal majority was led by a ministry containing such new figures as John Burns and Lloyd George. At no earlier time were so many people so eagerly interested in political reform and social reconstruction. To talk about "the post-Victorian complacency that succeeded the nineties" or to say that "Elgar celebrated the over-fed sumptuousness of the Edwardian era" is to talk journalistic nonsense. It ought not to be impossible for writers on music to remember that Elgar's characteristic early works and such masterpieces as the *Enigma Variations* and 'The Dream of Gerontius' belong to the Victorian, not the Edwardian reign. The plain simple truth about Elgar is that he is neither Victorian nor Edwardian, but Elgarian, and always was, from first to last. That is why people either like or loathe him. If critics of music wish to gain respect as men of letters they must really abandon the habit of writing in clichés. The perfect cliché in the volume is this: "X is one of the most significant composers of our time". Amuse yourselves by guessing who is "one of the most significant composers of our time", what he is significant of, why he is more significant than Y or Z, and whether the critic had any sort of idea in his mind when he wrote a sentence so entirely vacuous of meaning.

As Elgar is Elgarian, Delius is Delian. They were contemporaries, Elgar being six years older. Both died in the same year. Delius is actually senior to Richard Strauss. Why, then, is he "of our time" and Elgar not? Can it be because he has lately come into favour? No; for Ralph Hill twice assures us that his music is rarely performed. Can it be because he is less sumptuous than Elgar? No; for Ralph Hill calls him "the last of the full-blooded romantics". Can it be—but I will cease to wonder, and recommend the volume as a companionable summary which includes a useful list of gramophone records.

What a relief to turn from the hazardous opinions and raw writing of certain pages in Mr. Bacharach's volume to the quiet mastery of Sir Henry Hadow's little treatise! Hadow was a scholar and knew the art of using words. No clichés here, and no empty generalizations! But the present reprint, though welcome, is a little puzzling, because it reproduces the revision of 1925 without any change. Much has happened since then, and parts of the book are now out of date. The earlier historical chapters are in need of correction, and the later are oddly confused in values. Delius, Hadow says, "we have no right to claim", and perhaps that is true. Sibelius is dismissed in five chilly lines while Scriabin gets two full pages, with a comparison to Blake thrown in. Some may think that Tchaikovsky is properly snuffed out in four and a half lines, but will they agree that Glazunov, "a strong, masculine composer with a true mastery of symphonic form", should rank above him? Parry gets over two pages and Elgar barely one. No composer had better libretti, says Hadow, in speaking of Sullivan's light operas. Surely the machine-made lyrics of Gilbert, untouched by the faintest gleam of poetry, must have chilled the spirit of any composer. On the other hand, sometimes in a sentence and sometimes in a paragraph, Hadow lays his finger firmly on the achievement of some modern English composers, and shows us triumphs clearly won. To give a Pisgah-sight of the whole of Western music from the beginnings to the work of composers still living, all within the compass of 250 small pages, may justly be called a wonderful feat of musical understanding and of literary art. The bibliography, revised to include works published since Hadow wrote, omits many valuable entries of the original edition. G. S.

Gabriel Fauré. By Charles Koechlin. Translated by Leslie Orrey. pp. 98. (Dennis Dobson, London, 1946.) 7s. 6d.

M. Koechlin's book on his teacher has not really had justice done to it in England. Appearing for the first time as it did in 1927, it struck our market at the very moment when various interested parties were taking advantage of the Beethoven and Schubert centenaries to renew, after an all too momentary glimpse of better things, their publicity

drive in favour of German music; and it has thus had to wait for the centenary year of Fauré's own birth before it was even translated. The present volume in many ways represents it very faithfully. It almost reproduces, indeed, that atmosphere of over-reverent discipleship which is the book's chief fault, and which after all is moderation itself in comparison with the aura of holiness cast by the thrifers of musical Teutonism over numerous composers of no greater and sometimes much less worth than Fauré.

It is unfortunate, therefore, that this translation, in order that it should be published before the centenary year was over and thus secure a somewhat adventitious priority as the first book on the composer to be printed in English, should have been so hurriedly produced. Mr. Orrey, it would seem, has had to carry through his work in such haste that, though he appears in it under a favourable light as a musician, he has scarcely been able to give us his full measure as a translator. The book bristles with misprints, including one of Mr. Orrey's own name; it contains a great number of readings which suggest that the translator and the general editor had no leisure to confer together upon their appositeness; and on many pages Koechlin is positively misrepresented by versions of his words which, I presume, Mr. Orrey himself would have been the first to correct had he been free to give the matter a more prolonged consideration.

Let me illustrate in detail. Here is Mr. Orrey at his best:

... a profession of faith which seems to be Fauré's, as it was Debussy's—to write what the "adorable Goddess" suggests—and what if there are crimes such as to call forth an official report from Harmony's village policeman! (p. 48),

conveying exactly that unequivocal championship of a music owing no allegiance to nineteenth-century Germany which is perhaps even more necessary to-day than it was when Koechlin wrote. And Mr. Orrey can upon occasion call Koechlin himself in question, over such matters as Reber's veto on the "chord of the third degree", which Koechlin understood as a *common* chord and which was intended by Reber, according to Mr. Orrey (p. 63.n.) as an *augmented* triad on the third degree of the *minor* scale—though indeed Reber should here have been further taken to task for continuing to write as though the scale with the sharpened accidental seventh were the true minor, for it is precisely because of such timidity as his that an outworn diatonicism clamped itself down on music for so long and has its "legitimists" to this day.

But on the other side of the picture we have examples of carelessness such as the attribution of the same 'Monthly Musical Record' article to two different authors (p. 93) and the invention of an imaginary poet called "J. Lorrain Béziers" (p. 90)—neither of them, I imagine, Mr. Orrey's fault. We are continually held up by the irritatingly hybrid adjective "Faurien"—no more English than French—and by such things as the use of "Prométhée" to indicate not only the title of Fauré's music-drama but the name of a character in it, just as in the synopsis of 'Pénélope' the translation hesitates between "Eurycleé" and "Eurycleia". The description of one of Fauré's patrons as "the sympathetic Bitterois Mycena" (p. 9) argues a considerable and multiple uncertainty about names of persons and places; and some of Mr. Orrey's equivalents are questionable, e.g. "an F sharp" for "un fa aigu" (a high, piercing F), "the most musical of modern composers" (would not "musicianly" have been better?) and "reduced to string quartet" (with reference to the orchestration of 'Pelléas' "pour quatuor réduit", i.e. an orchestra with a reduced number of strings).

Lastly, as instances of misleading translation, I may quote a reference to Fauré as (p. 55) a possible composer of music for the Iliad, "even though he has written an admirable setting of the last chant" (the original has "quoiqu'il eût écrit une admirable musique sur le dernier chant", i.e. "though he might have written an admirable setting of the last canto": Fauré of course wrote nothing to any words from the Iliad); an unintentional depreciation of the early theatre music on p. 48: "In none of these accents was there the augury of the success of 'Pénélope'" (in the original "Rien qu'à ces accents"—i.e. "In these strains alone there was already the augury..."); and a number of cases depending on a misunderstanding of the grammar of the French relative pronoun, e.g. a reference to the Greek Anthology "which brings to our minds Debussy's 'Chansons de Bilitis'" (p. 56: Koechlin wrote "à quoi nous feraient songer les 'Chansons'..."), i.e. "of which the 'Chansons de Bilitis' might remind us") or, in the matter of the works of Fauré's final period, to "the erroneous view that all informed criticism deems them obsolete" (p. 76) where the original has "des conclusions erronées que tout critique averti devrait juger désuètes", that is to say, "erroneous conclusions which any well-informed critic should deem obsolete".

All of which is, to say the least, a pity. Had it not been for the anxiety to publish in advance of an original English study of Fauré, announced some time ago as due to appear shortly, Mr. Orrey would no doubt have produced a first-rate piece of work. N. S.

Mussorgsky. By M. D. Calvocoressi. (Master Musicians series.) pp. 216. (Dent, London, 1946) 6s. 6d.

Until this year the translation of a French book written in 1908 was the only 'Mussorgsky' for English readers. The present book does not merely supersede, but

supplements it, and it is our good fortune that before his recent death the author, M. D. Calvocoressi, prepared the bulk of material for a new work. Gerald Abraham, who undertook its completion, including a large portion of the non-biographical matter, tells us that "this is not the big definitive work on Mussorgsky to which Calvocoressi devoted so many years of his life; that lies in a Paris safe, awaiting the day when conditions will make its publication possible".

One can best welcome the book under review by declaring that it leaves only specialists anxiously awaiting the big 'Mussorgsky', and for this fact Mr. Abraham is chiefly to be thanked. Many of us can now thin out from bulging scrap-books Calvocoressi's valuable letters, articles and *obiter scripta*, which Mr. Abraham has tastefully used to bridge lacunae. Despite the enclosing brackets, used for chapters, as for paragraphs and single phrases, contributed by him, the book is as unified and connected as a pre-arranged collaboration. The ease and precision of writing, the similarity of critical attitude in the writers, will give enjoyable reading to the general musician for whom this series forms a compact reference-library combining reliability with lively commentary. The student, on the other hand, will be grateful for a full account of Mussorgsky's persistent "salvaging", for a concise discussion of editions, recensions and rearrangements (of dramatic order or of musical texture) and for a complete review of Mussorgsky's songs.

It does not discredit any contributor to the 'Master Musicians' that he tackles his man with one attitude and his music with another, showing greater relish as biographer or as critic. There is, however, no such marked division here. Musical growth is revealed in the biographical chapters, sometimes with music-type illustration, and facets of the composer's character are revealed on almost every page of music criticism: thus, while all significant letters and sources of information are covered in the first five chapters, and every known manuscript and edition is reviewed in the rest of the book, the musical interest is persistent. In an early chapter, dealing with Mussorgsky's development to artistic maturity, the author examines various definitions of "realism" in art:

It consists of a maximum of veracity and specificness in suggestion and expression, together with a minimum of stylization. It is entirely a matter of outlook and processes; not of choice of subjects, or vision, but of treatment; not of impressions conveyed, but of methods of conveying them.

This is linked with the account of certain circles of Mussorgsky's acquaintance comprising intellectual and aesthetic nonentities, not friends of the stature of Balakirev or Stassov. But they were all opposed to "art for art's sake" ideas, and so they are shown to us with the interest a chemist has in a catalytic agent—something which assists and engenders chemical reaction without being itself affected. The same quotation, however, can also be linked with remarks made at the other end of the book:

The formal transition to which he objects spells stylization. One can imagine how feeble the opening of 'Trepak' would be with a transition from the F sharp minor chord to D minor. Likewise, formal conclusions, unless they have a specific purpose. The formal conclusion of the Death scene in 'Boris' is a significant epilogue, a valuable musical peroration. In the Revolution scene a similar peroration would be out of keeping, and Mussorgsky wisely allows the music to die without even a marked cadence, as also happens in the first scene. The first act of 'Khovanshchina' ends on a discord, the tolling of a cathedral bell.

The continuity of musical interest comes as no surprise. When writing of other composers, such as Ravel or Debussy, "Calvo" was attracted by style and technique as symbols which revealed a musical personality. Similarly when writing on an avowedly technical subject, such as Chopin's harmony, Mr. Abraham does not fail to communicate that insight into the workings of an artist's mind which is the primary function of criticism. It is for this reason, and not just because no other English musicographer of his standing possesses the requisite knowledge of Russian music and language, that we may be grateful for his undertaking. It hardly matters whether the following passage comes from a biographical or a critical chapter, whether it is part of Calvocoressi's original material for this book, whether it is contributed by Mr. Abraham, or whether he rescued it from one of Calvocoressi's articles on the songs called 'The Nursery':

They are the dreams of an adult unromantically recalling his childhood; they are such music as a child of five might write if he had the technical equipment of a grown-up. It is this ability to project himself into the skin of human types not only profoundly different from himself but profoundly different from each other—the idiot yearning for his darling Savishna, the peasant woman crooning over her baby, the young woman gathering mushrooms with hate in her heart, the street urchin, the great tsar who has done such evil and wished to do such good, the old monk brooding over his chronicles, the young monk full of ruthless romantic aspirations, and dozens of others—that makes Mussorgsky the musical dramatist he is. The number of those characters is the measure of his genius. He is the supreme type of the objective, non-egocentric artist, just as Tchaikovsky is the supreme type of subjective egocentric, unable to conceive any dramatic character except in terms of himself.

In recognizing that, so far from being a careless amateur, Mussorgsky was as scrupulous and self-critical an artist as one might judge from the reproductions of his musical manuscript, Calvocoressi showed a critical acumen brilliantly ahead of his time. In the early years of the century, when few musicians knew that while 'The Mastersingers' and 'The Dusk of the Gods' were being shaped a greater musical dramatist (not necessarily a greater musician) was finishing his masterpiece, Calvocoressi was struggling directly with Diaghilev's company in Paris, and by correspondence with larger fry in Russia, to obtain for us an uncut, unaltered 'Boris'; he saw that to reshuffle any version which had the composer's authority was to lose his perfect dramatic judgment. Yet with what charity he writes of Rimsky-Korsakov:

There can be little doubt that if a competent judge who knew nothing whatever of 'Boris' were given to read or hear the Coronation scene in the two versions, he might prefer the elaborate and rich scoring of Rimsky-Korsakov. . . . I for one am inclined to set great store by the sensuous appeal of music, and greatly appreciate the qualities of Rimsky-Korsakov's music.

This is written after quotation of Glebov's opinion: "The people are merely driven to hail the tsar; the coronation is overshadowed with gloom. The music is bitter and stark, the singing 'passive'." And who but so great-hearted a musician would have resisted the temptation to point out Wagner's opposite methods to those in Mussorgsky's vocal lines, where

There is a scarcity of big leaps, of suspensions, of anticipations, of strong contrasts of note-values, which might so easily lead to declamatory over-emphasis, or to have championed Mussorgskian music-drama as a superior form of art to the Wagnerian conception?

Because, after four decades, Calvocoressi's opinion has been universally vindicated, there has been for some time a notable void gaping at us in a roll of honour which already included what many would consider the less worthy names of Weber and Berlioz; but it was worth waiting to see Mussorgsky's name so fully inscribed among the Master Musicians and his achievements recorded in the last writing of a fine critic and musician.

A. H.

Gustav Mahler: Memories and Letters. By Alma Mahler. Translated by Basil Creighton. pp. 234. (Murray, London, 1946.) 18s.

This book (it may not be called a study of its subject), which begins as a slightly distasteful exhibition of *amour-propre*, ends by holding the reader's attention to a degree that is astonishing, if that reader be of the kind that prefers fact to fiction. The stature of the man here spoken of is such that not only are the emotions aroused as the tale of his peripatetic, over-active, physically maimed life is told, but the intellect is enthralled. Mahler's career, if the tale could be told in abstraction (a very difficult task, seeing the emotional nature of the subject), would furnish one of the most illuminating and helpful case-books in the history of musicians. It is not known what material he left other than the reactions in his wife's mind. They are not of the most valuable quality, for they reflect more of her than of him, or at least as much; and the one half is less than that amount interesting than the other.

The letters chosen for printing in the present volume are the most significant portion of the book. They do not include one of his finest, the communication sent to the Vienna Opera when the break occurred: "Im Gedränge des Kampfes, in der Hitze des Augenblicks, blieben Ihnen und mir nicht Wunden, nicht Irrungen erspart". That and a larger selection of letters may be found in the book published in 1925 by the Zsolnayverlag. Frau Werfel's sketchiness about this central episode of Mahler's life suggests a certain lack of information. Her qualifications of his music have the interest bound to accrue to the testimony of one so close to the composer. But an odd allusion to a "cymbal" accompaniment in an arrangement of some unspecified music of J. S. Bach by Mahler has an unreal touch, though it must be remembered that the author's approach to Mahler was by way of the emotions. He seems to have treated her in the fashion, alternating between heavy endearments and commands, that drove the Viennese singers to despair. Frau Werfel never despaired long enough to make any difference and she was with Mahler up to the time he died. The book is made by the personality of the composer. A family chronicle, it remains a *bonne bouche*, an appetiser before the main course which must be (and as soon as may be) a complete and intelligent study of Mahler as man, musician and composer.

S. G.

The Edwin A. Fleisher Collection of Orchestral Music in the Free Library of Philadelphia: a Descriptive Catalogue. Vol. II. pp. 501-1055. (Free Library, Philadelphia, 1945.)

Since very few copies of Vol. I of this handsomely produced catalogue (issued in 1933) appear to have reached England, some account of the origins and purpose of the Edwin A. Fleisher Music Collection may not be amiss. The collection was started by Mr. Fleisher in order to lend musical scores to performing bodies. No charge is made for loan facilities, which are most generous, but the borrower must be an orchestra, not a private student. It is not a bibliographical or antiquarian library, except in so far as it contains some

valuable groups of modern manuscript scores of old works not yet available in print. In order to extend the scope of his Library to unpublished music, Mr. Fleisher secured State aid from 1934 onwards in the shape of a grant from that protean benefactor, the Works Progress Administration. This provided funds for the Music Copying Project which lasted from 1934 to 1943, employed more than 100 persons, and resulted in the copying of nearly 2,000 unpublished compositions none of which could have been purchased. From original copies made on rag paper nearly three-quarters of a million photographic prints were made for the actual loaning of parts. To extend the work to Latin American music, Nicolas Slonimsky (author of 'Music since 1900' and 'Music in Latin America') was employed to secure many representative compositions. It is interesting to learn that among the borrowers from this library have been several European orchestras.

The scheme of the catalogue as embodied in its second volume is comprehensive but lucid. First comes a most valuable world list of music publishers, together with their American agents when known or existing, followed by the main body of the work in twenty-two sections, 'Large and small orchestra', 'Chamber and wind orchestra', 'String orchestra', various solo instruments (including the theremin) with orchestra, 'Percussion' and 'Fanfares'. The two last contain instances of two types of composition little practised in the British Isles. Bliss, Bantock and Harty have written fanfares, but the more exotic percussion orchestra is rarer by far, and the section devoted to it in this volume contains some astonishing combinations of instruments, as witness the works of Lou Harrison, who was born in Portland, Oregon, in 1917: his 'Bomba' for 20 instruments is scored for 2 maracas, 3 flower pots, 2 metal rattles, 3 large bells, 3 dragon's mouths, thundersheet, rasp, low tam-tam, bass drum. The work has five movements, which each require two or three of these instruments. Again, his 'Labyrinth' (sic) No. 3 requires, *inter alia*, 5 wood blocks, claves, 5 flower pots, 5 cow bells, flexatone, teponazli, large temple bell, Javanese button gong, etc.

Arrangers and editors receive adequate cross-references: the place and date of birth of every composer is given; dates are also included for the actual composition of nearly all works, but there are some strange gaps in eighteenth-century works, for which surely an approximate date would be better than none. Useful notes of first performances are also included. The orchestral requirements of every work are indicated by a series of code numbers, and the time of performance is given in minutes. There are likewise scholarly annotations on the origins of certain obscure pieces and arrangements, which lend quality to the whole. Following on the main body of the book is a section devoted to works which, owing to war-time conditions, lack either a full score or a full set of parts. A geographical summary, based on the birthplace of the composer, and an index complete the volume.

Some interesting facts emerge from the geographical index. Works by North American composers predominate; headed by 257 written by musicians born in New York and 147 in Pennsylvania; but there are also 151 works from Mexico and 98 from Brazil; three come from Yucatan, two from Java and nine from Palestine. Of European compositions, Germany heads the list with 1,551, with France (894) as runner-up; Great Britain, with 491, comes well after Italy, Yugoslavia, Austria and Russia. Numbers, however, do not count for everything. Perhaps the most valuable section of any single composer or type is that containing nineteen symphonies by Haydn ranging from No. 53 to No. 87, and so covering much of the tiresome and tantalizing gap between the end of the Breitkopf edition and the generally available "Paris" and "London" symphonies. These works, originally scored in MS. by the labours of Drs. Einstein and Geiringer, may well serve as a basis for continuing the tortoise-like progress of the Breitkopf edition, which was held up by World War 1 and rendered fantastically difficult by World War 2.

The sheer wealth of names in this catalogue is almost intoxicating. How many people in English musical circles have ever heard of Harry Adip of Honolulu, Armand Balendonck of Liège, Ulysses Kay of Tucson, Arizona, Wesley La Violette of St. James, Minnesota, or G. N. Ocki-Albi (composer of 'Scènes pittoresques roumaines') and scores of others equally mellifluous? These jostle shoulder by shoulder with Leopold Mozart and Vaughan Williams, Chevalier Sigmund von Neukomm and Samuel Barber. Turning the pages of this catalogue one encounters a luxuriance of eponymy such as Milton and Aeschylus devised to enchant the ears of their public ever curious for the sounds of distant places.

In fine, this volume represents a radically different approach from anything we know in this country to both the science of music cataloguing and its fundamental purpose. Here we have biographical information about composers whose names are quite unknown even to Thompson's 'Cyclopedia', coupled with the strictly practical purpose of making their music known by performance. There is a great deal to be said for combining utility with permanent value in this way, and the result is something which might well be commended to some body like the Arts Council of Great Britain. It is true that no such library as the Edwin A. Fleisher Collection exists in this country, but the establishment of one and its widespread use would go far to broaden the basis of music as performed here to-day. A prerequisite, of course, is the general raising of music librarianship to a

level competent to undertake the compilation of a catalogue of this world-wide scope, and that alone will obviously take a long time. Meanwhile a volume such as this is more than a catalogue: it is an inspiration.

A. H. K.

Folk-Dances of South India. By Hildegard N. Spreen, with the assistance of R. Ramani. Foreword by Marie Buck. pp. 134. (Oxford University Press, Indian Branch, 1946.) 7s. 6d.

The reviewer can testify to the value of this book—surely the first of its kind—since he would gladly have obtained it had it been available a few years ago in the land of its compilation. It may be a curse of western musicianship that one cannot discard the habit of analysis; the folk-dances which one saw in the Telugu districts immediately north of the areas searched by Spreen and Ramani would have been even more enjoyable had one been able to recognize the sequence of elements in the complete forms, and in this book one meets some of the very forms one witnessed near Vizagapatam. Still more surprising it is to meet among the tunes the source of "Marching to Delhi", a favourite of the Congress Volunteers!

The compilers waste no space on explanations of symbolism; they codify their terms in plain language and give the teacher of physical development something as plain and practical as the instruction books of the English Folk Dance Society. One prays for a rapid dissemination both of their book and of the teaching for which it is intended. At present, academic education for civil service employment is in no part of India so keenly sought or organized as in Madras and the Tamil-speaking districts. In Madras and Mysore schooling is free and compulsory; when Bengal relaxed the order that all higher instruction should be in English, Madras adopted it. Unfortunately for those interested in folksong and dance, these arts are despised in all parts of India where educational sophistication is developed. Miss Spreen is therefore in a district which may see their extinction sooner than will other districts, and if her work is to bear lasting fruit, it must be practised beyond the walls of schools for the well-to-do. Love of the movements would be natural enough among the pupils of Hindu or, in this area, Christian elementary schools, but in modern India the young townee, or apprentice townee, despises the songs of "peasants and illiterates". The two words which so infuriate Europeans who do not like modern Indian youth, but which are no more misused than they are here, namely "education" and "kalchar", are associated with commercial music from Bombay, heard at the cinema or in the circle which gathers unfailingly outside a shop that turns on a noisy radio set. Yet young India will sit for hours outdoors or in a building of sorts to watch professional troupes of dancers, and one expression of respectability is the sending of daughters to learn songs at the harmonium of an "arch" and inept type or to practise solo dance steps as vapid and purposeless as some of the "Greek" steps once taught to our girls in this country.

If the dances so clearly explained in this book had the blessing of those who are regarded as the great ones of education and culture—and it is good to see that Miss Spreen's work has the approval of Dr. Sambamurthy of Madras University—they would do more than aesthetic good; as an expression of India's growing feeling for national unity they would unite the younger generation with an older one at home and in the village, where the dances are not yet forgotten, and they might make at least one link between countryman and townee. The split between communities was deplored in Russia and elsewhere, and despite the Peasants' Leagues, the Indian national movement is too markedly urban.

The music, given in staff notation, is naturally rather square and symmetrical, though its gamut is wider than that of folk-dance in other parts of India except Bengal; it cannot greatly interest the average western musician. It may, however, be sought by musicians who have associated themselves with English folk-dancing, for the Tamil *kolattams*, wherein the dancers use short sticks, have many points in common with our dances, and the *pinnal kolattams*, miming the processes of weaving, follow almost exactly the patterns of winding and unwinding with coloured strands that are found in western maypole dances. The ordinary *kummi* country dances are well represented in the collection, their subjects ranging from household duties to the ceremonials of worship.

A. H.

Folk-Songs of the Maikal Hills. By Verrier Elwin and Shamrao Hivale. pp. 410. (Oxford University Press, Indian Branch, 1944.) 25s.

The Maikal Hills form a lonely and beautiful region at the extreme east of the Satpura Range in east Central Provinces. The collectors of this volume have therefore lived with some of the few peoples, even in the vast tracts and valleys of India, from whom in these days one might learn the forms of aboriginal art. A journey through forest and hill tracks might bring these Baiga, Gond or Pardhan peoples, whose oral poetry is that chiefly represented, to the more sophisticated folk of south-west Bengal, and both Bengali girls and robbers figure in the verses, as also does the railway train and its noises.

Though the music is shown for only a score of songs out of a collection of over six hundred, and though the range of notes in this aboriginal music never exceeds the tetra-chord, their sequences being hard to identify with either the germs or fruit of Indian

ragas in general, the book is fascinating from a literary or ethnological viewpoint. Specimens of oral poetry range from short riddle verses, love and marriage songs, songs about customs, prices, scandals, tragic deaths, persons and places to a magnificent Pardhan epic, 'The Song of Hirakhan Kshattri', which should be known by others than collectors of folk-art. The collection is well worth study both on account of this epic, the many fine narrative and other types of art contained within its covers, and also for two chief points made by Messrs. Elwin and Hivale in their excellent introduction: "One of the most tragic things about the contact of the aboriginal with civilization is the destruction of art that so frequently follows".

In reviewing Miss Spreen's book, one observed the danger from within—perverted views as to the nature and purpose of schooling; the authors of this collection are concerned more with unintelligent "uplifters" and social reformers who come from without. J. P. Mills has written of the "awful monotony of village life" and its "unspeakable drabness" in Christianized Assam, and one notes that Mr. Elwin has specially mentioned the American Baptist Mission, which was responsible for the prohibition policy in Assam, as stopping "the great Feasts of Merit, and with them the very few occasions on which the monotony of village life is broken". India is cursed with Pumblechooks "who try very hard to make the aboriginal good; they only succeed in making him dull". The Karma and Saila dances are "being rapidly destroyed by social reformers who leave nothing in their place but the filth of Holi and the obscenity of the marriage abuse". An authoritative and well-expressed protest against these misguided people is the first of the points mentioned above; the second is a short but very thorough comparison of various attempts to give English renderings of eastern folk-poetry. The compilers follow principles laid down by W. G. Archer, who held it impossible for a translator to follow the images of an Indian original while achieving parallels to its rhythmic structure or musical effects. In his verses from the Chinese, Arthur Waley, whom Mr. Elwin admires, accepted Archer's principles, and was particularly careful not to add images to those of the original whether gratuitously or as compensation for others not translated. Though one is unacquainted with the language of the Maikal Hills, one cannot but wish that other translators of folk poetry had given renderings so clearly understandable, so free from irritating attempts to retain original words or musical effects, as are the specimens given in this new book.

A. H.

Drei Haydn Kataloge in Faksimile, mit Einleitung und ergänzenden Themenverzeichnissen. Edited by Jens Peter Larsen. pp. 198. (Munksgaard, Copenhagen, 1941.) 50 kroner.

In the summer of 1940 the Editor of 'Music & Letters' gave me the congenial task of reviewing Professor Larsen's granite-mountain of a book 'Die Haydn Überlieferung'. A few copies of it had reached England ahead of the German march into Denmark, and as I quarried away at its pages packed with facts I never doubted, being one of the mad English, that some day an Allied victory would permit Professor Larsen's work to be seen and saluted in its full magnitude by Haydn students all over the world. After more than five years that time has now come: and the long-planned supplementary volume, without which 'Die Haydn Überlieferung' is only partially intelligible, has emerged into the world. It is a noble, a beautiful publication, and places all scholars in Professor Larsen's debt. Entitled 'Drei Haydn Kataloge', it contains in fine photographic facsimiles the three catalogues which are of most authority where Haydn research is concerned, namely the *Entwurf* (or Sketch) Catalogue, the "Kees" Catalogue (so called from the Hofrat von Kees, Director of the Augarten concerts in the penultimate decade of the eighteenth century, for whom it was made) and, lastly, Haydn's 'Verzeichnis aller derjenigen Compositionen, welche ich mich beyläufig erinnere von meinem 18ten bis in das 73te Jahr verfertigt zu haben', made under his direction by his copyist Elssler, and often referred to as the *Haupt* (or Principal) Catalogue. To these Professor Larsen has added an Introduction by himself which appears, curiously enough, crab-wise near the end of the volume after the Appendix; a supplementary thematic Completing List of works existing under Haydn's name, a list of sources, a list of abbreviations, a Subject Index and a short General Index. Like its predecessor this volume is published by Einar Munksgaard in Copenhagen, and it is bound in the same dignified, but alas! far from durable grey paper. Its date is 1941 . . . !

Here, as in his previous book, Professor Larsen's aim has been the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. But where, formerly, he gave us mainly his own findings, here he gives us direct access to Haydn himself. It is a wonderful experience to have in daily use these sources of knowledge so long denied to all but the tiniest fraction of Haydn students, and gratitude to Professor Larsen runs high. His two volumes constitute a great achievement in the clarification of one of the most difficult fields of musical research. Yet if, while he was about it, Professor Larsen would have clarified his own methods too, how much greater would have been the joy of his fellow-searchers after truth! That this volume, like its predecessor, is written in German was, perhaps, inevitable; it may even have been a safeguard towards the survival of the work, and many more people know German than know Danish. But oh, how great the gain in the lucidity and striking-power of the words would have been if Professor Larsen had seen his way to using English

instead of these convolute, academic German sentences that "like a wounded snake drag their slow length along". Then there is the objection that the new book is not fully comprehensible unless studied in conjunction with 'Die Haydn Überlieferung', so it suffers from a little fringe of footnotes and cross-references. As to the 'Ergänzende Themenverzeichnisse', even Professor Larsen seems to feel apologetic because it was originally brought together as a basis for private study without a view to publication. It is certainly not easy for other people to understand it at sight, while the "Quellenverzeichnis" is formidably hard, being made up almost entirely of abbreviations packed tighter than the proverbial sardines. The paragraph on the symphonies is seventy-seven lines long: that on the divertimenti is forty. No less than sixty-two abbreviations have to be mastered. Surely when (with one notable exception to be mentioned presently) the volume is on such a noble scale, a couple of extra pages could have been found to print these lists in a way worthy of their value.

Professor Larsen has arranged the three Catalogues in chronological order. The first, he says, although long known, has hitherto received little attention; the second remained unknown until a short time ago; the third has played a fairly big part. The *Entwurf* Catalogue belongs—if it still exists in the original—to the Prussian State Library in Berlin. It is divisible into three parts, distinguished by the different sorts of music paper employed. From a comparative study of the watermarks Professor Larsen thinks Part A (as he calls it) can be placed in the years 1762 to 1768; and from the entries he deduces 1765 as the year the Catalogue was begun. Part B he places about 1775 on the evidence of the watermarks. Part C is obviously later, for it includes the twelve great symphonies composed in London in 1791 to 1795, and in Professor Larsen's view it may run up to 1805. He conjectures there may also have been an earlier part which is now lost. The numbers marked against the symphonies in the list might seem to support that idea, for the first is No. 20, but as those immediately following are 12 and 40, it is equally likely they are a cross-reference to some general catalogue of Prince Esterházy's library of music, of which Haydn was in control. I cannot help recollecting that when the prince took Haydn into his service in 1761 one of the clauses in the agreement read "Hat Er Vice-Kapellmeister auf Erhaltung der Musikalien und musikalischen Instrumente zu achten und für dieselben zu haften". Four years later it would appear Haydn had been negligent in the discharge of his duties, for the Prince addressed a sharp reprimand to him, in which, among other things, Haydn was ordered to have ready within a week a detailed inventory in triplicate of the music and instruments, and to keep all the musical scores required for performance in the cupboards provided for the purpose. Now comes the significant thing. The date of this reprimand-note is 1765, and 1765 is the year to which Professor Larsen, on a study of the watermarks and entries, assigns the start of the *Entwurf* Catalogue. If I had been in Professor Larsen's place I could not have resisted drawing the inference.

Despite his detachment, however, I suspect him of having a partiality for this catalogue. I find it fascinating: it is so human—a bit of Haydn's daily life. Look at the appalling number of compositions for the baryton—the peculiar instrument on which Prince Esterházy disported himself, and for which Haydn had to provide a repertory—what drudgery they must represent! Or look at Haydn's extra entries put in wherever he could find space in the left-hand, originally wide margins of his pages, with the stave-lines drawn in free-hand, not ruled like the rest, and the notes reminding one of Haydn's own remark that his writing looked as if a fly had fallen into the inkpot and then walked on the paper. Part B of the catalogue shows that during the years (1772-81) when Haydn let string quartet writing lie fallow, he was concentrating on the symphony. Part C of the *Entwurf* Catalogue, or at any rate its beginning, is practically a counterpart of the 'Kees' Catalogue, and the same clear, black handwriting of an unknown copyist appears in both. This "Kees" Catalogue deals only with Haydn's symphonies. Perhaps the most arresting thing about it is that it evidently formed the basis of Haydn's own list of his symphonies in the *Verzeichnis* of 1805 which is the summing-up of his life's work, and which was made under his supervision by his devoted factotum Elsler. Yet even this great catalogue does not contain all Haydn's authentic compositions, nor can I think he scrutinized the manuscript very closely, for on the opening page there is a glaring mistake in the first chord of the Symphony in D major (No. 13 in Haydn's list, but No. 72 in the *Gesamtausgabe*) where Elsler has written a G instead of an F#. But taken for all in all the *Verzeichnis* is a piece of really fine penmanship and must have been a labour of love to Elsler, whose veneration for Haydn was so great that he would surreptitiously swing a censor in front of his picture. Would that Professor Larsen and his publisher could have shown a comparable piety by reproducing the *Verzeichnis* entire. As things are the facsimiles stop short after the songs for three and four voices, and Haydn's arrangements of 365 Scottish, Welsh and Irish songs are omitted entirely, dismissed with the brief entry "365 schottische Lieder: Originaldrucke (Napier, Thomson-Preston)". Which is not even quite accurate, for though Elsler may not have known the difference between Scottish, Welsh and Irish, we do know it to-day, and the reactions of, say, a Welshman on finding 'The Men of Harlech' had been bagged for Scotland are better imagined than described.

Still, the wonder is that under war-time conditions Professor Larsen's book comes as near perfection as it does: what he has given us is incomparably valuable. Already a quick study of it illuminates some puzzles. Take, for example, that contradiction among Haydn's early biographers about the symphony which, by attracting Prince Esterházy's attention, led ultimately to his engagement by the prince. Carpani, who was personally acquainted with Haydn for years, says in his book 'Le Haydine' (published 1812) that it was the Symphony in A major, 3-4 time. Griesinger, a man also personally acquainted with Haydn, though not so intimately as Carpani, says, on the contrary, that it was the symphony in D major—now listed as No. 1 in the *Gesamtausgabe*—which the prince heard; and he clinches the statement by quoting the opening theme. Which is right? The very first entry in the *Entwurf* Catalogue throws a fresh light. It stands thus—"Symfonia Ex A"—and the theme which follows is not that of the 1761 A major Symphony, but of the sixth of a set of early Scherzandi which Haydn's biographer Pohl describes (Vol. I, p. 186) as dear, harmless divertimenti, the forerunners of his symphonies. No. 6 in A was evidently the favourite, for it existed also in a transcription for two violins and bass. The deduction seems obvious that Carpani based his statement on the *Entwurf* Catalogue. But how came Griesinger and his followers to select that particular Symphony in D as the first when in Haydn's *Verzeichnis* it is No. 10? Allowing for the fact that the *Verzeichnis* is not designed in chronological order, one can only surmise the information must have been obtained verbally from Haydn or Elssler more than forty years after the event. The late Sir Henry Hadow would have been much interested in all this; for with one of those flashes of insight that made him such an acute critic, he wrote in the third edition of Grove's Dictionary: "It has commonly been described as Haydn's first symphony; for this designation it will be seen that there is no sufficient reason"—though I think Hadow had not seen the *Entwurf* Catalogue and probably was taking into consideration the Symphony in B \flat which has come down to us in its guise as the fifth string Quartet in Haydn's Op. 1.

Then there is the interesting question of the original order of the movements in Haydn's Symphony in D, now numbered as 34 in the *Gesamtausgabe*. A well-known conductor has long maintained that the Adagio in D minor which opens the Symphony is really the second movement, and the Allegro in D major which follows it in the *Gesamtausgabe* should be the first. He based his belief on the purely musical ground that Haydn was too good a composer to have incurred the monotony of having the second, third and fourth movements all in the key of D major. What have the Catalogues to say about this? The entry in the *Entwurf* Catalogue, made by Haydn himself, shows the D major Allegro as the first movement! But in the 'Kees' Catalogue the D minor slow movement stands first, and this entry is reproduced in the *Verzeichnis* of 1805, neither entry, of course, being in Haydn's own writing. The copyists would seem to have followed a jumbled score.

Such examples prove at once—if proof were needed—the value of what Professor Larsen has given to musicians in his two Haydn books. The scholarship, strength and courage that have gone to their making are immense: in a task of extreme difficulty he has triumphed to a notable degree. Warm congratulations are his due on the accomplishment of a piece of work that will last as long as the study of Haydn's music.

M. M. S.

Opéras, intermezzos, ballets, cantates, oratorios joués en Russie durant le XVIII^e siècle: essai d'un répertoire alphabétique et chronologique. By R.-Aloys Mooser. pp. 173. (Kundig, Geneva, 1945.)

M. Mooser, the editor of the progressive little Swiss periodical 'Dissonances', has long been known as an expert on early Russian music. The present book is the result of many years of extensive research in libraries and archives in and outside Russia. It is the first of its kind in a western European language, and much more comprehensive as well as reliable than its few Russian forerunners, listing as it does some five to six hundred works with full particulars of authors, composers, dates of first performances and so on, and indicating the authority for each statement.

The book covers a period of seventy years, the reigns of the Empresses Anna, Elizabeth and Catherine, and the beginning of the reign of Paul I, from 1731 when the first Italian *intermezzo* singers made their appearance at Moscow, until 1800, when after the death of Catherine and the resignation of the last Italian court composer of the old school, Giuseppe Sarti, an epoch in the history of Russian culture came to an end.

The great masters, apart from Gluck, do not figure well in the old Russian opera and concert repertory. There was but one solitary performance of Handel's 'Samson' at Moscow in 1783, and of Mozart only 'The Magic Flute' was produced in Russia before 1800, and excerpts from 'La clemenza di Tito' were published in B. T. Breitkopf's 'Giornale musicale'. Of Haydn, Mooser lists the 'Seven Words' Passion, which as an instrumental work, strictly speaking, should not have been included at all. But we learn all the more about the works of the minor eighteenth-century composers who, in their time, were not considered to be minor, such as Galuppi, Traetta, Paisiello, Cimarosa and many others. They all were in Russia at some period or other, and they wrote many

of their works expressly for the Russian court, Paisiello's 'Barbieri di Siviglia' being the most famous among them. Some hitherto completely unknown operas here come to light for the first time. I should like to mention a libretto by the well-known Italian satirist and poet, Giovanni Battista Casti, which so far was only known to exist in a manuscript copy at the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale. Now we learn that it was set to music by Paisiello and that it was printed at St. Petersburg; but the score does not seem to be extant.

Still more important is the first-hand information gained about the early Russian composers Matinsky, Pashkevich, Fomin, Bulant and so on. Up to now, they have been the crux of western lexicographers; thanks to Mooser there is now a sound historical basis for a future history of Russian eighteenth-century opera. A clearer indication should have been given which scores are actually preserved and which—the great majority, I fear—are not. Some of them do exist outside Russia. Of Dmitry Bortniansky, for instance, the British Museum possesses three manuscript operas, and while of the two French ones, as we now learn from a reference to Mooser's list of sources, there are also copies at a Leningrad library, the third, an Italian 'Alcide', is to be found in Bloomsbury only.

One word about this list of sources. It comprises more than seventy items and makes one aware for the first time of the existence of large collections of scores and librettos at Moscow and Leningrad of which the average western scholar, owing to a lack of any printed catalogues, knows nothing. It is high time that this musicological 'iron curtain' were lifted by the Soviet musical authorities, who in that respect are no better than their imperial predecessors. As far as the printed sources are concerned, Mooser's list seems most exhaustive. He could have added Sopikoy's standard Russian bibliography, which he surely knows and must have used. Less well-known is the 'Bibliografia critica delle antiche reciproche corrispondenze . . . dell' Italia colla Russia &c.', by Sebastiano Ciampi (1834-39), which contains some otherwise unrecorded Italian librettos printed in Russia.

A. L. (ii).

O Cancioneiro Musical e Poético da Biblioteca Pública Horténsia. Com Prólogo, Transcrição e Notas de Manuel Joaquim. (Coimbra, 1940.)

Elvas has long been famous for its plums, to the rich flavour of whose preserves the palate of the privileged foreigner pays eloquent though inarticulate testimony. Now another kind of Elvas plum has appeared: a musical plum, of a rare variety and also excellently preserved. It was first espied by Senhor Joaquim as he was turning over the dry, dusty leaves of old works awaiting classification in the Elvas Municipal Library; on holiday from military band duties he had previously found his diligence rewarded with such fruits as Rebelo's psalms, and a book of Duarte Lobo's Missas; but this Cancioneiro was the first song-book containing secular musical scores to reappear in Portugal, and for that reason was an event nationally comparable to the discovery of the Cancionero del Real Palacio published by Barbieri in Spain.

The Portuguese song-books such as the Cancioneiro da Ajuda rank foremost among the verse compilations of their time: much of the text in this Elvas collection is therefore already familiar; most of the music is not.

Examination of the paper shows its similarity to material produced in Italy and the Low Countries during the first quarter of the sixteenth century, but obviously no conclusion of age can be built upon that. The binding is eighteenth-century Portuguese, and may have been added whilst the songs were in the ownership of João Joaquim d'Andrade, whose heirs gave it to the municipality. This priest, whose portrait is reproduced in the foreword, served for some years in Rio de Janeiro, as the scroll in his hand prominently advertises, but whether he came by this set of airs whilst in Brazil is, so far, impossible to say. The features of the portrait are not those of an ascetic, and the general countenance is that usually associated with musical beings.

Senhor Joaquim deserves much praise for the edition he has produced after years of laborious transcription. One excellence is his prudent modesty in printing the songs in the order in which he found them, and not classifying them by subject as Barbieri, mistakenly, did. The importance of maintaining the musical contiguity of the original grouping is strongly confirmed by an example which the editor, curiously enough, did not notice. This is a song whose text is common to both collections, "Ya cantan los gallos" (the theme is the same as our own Amorous Silvie). The Portuguese setting is, however, distinct—except for one cadence—but turning to the next song, on a very different subject, lo! in the middle voice there is embedded the second cadential part of the Spanish setting of "Ya cantan los gallos" as printed in Barbieri: bars 9 to 14. It is thus perfectly clear that it was the musical allusions which bound the songs together in the mind of the original collector. I think this juxtaposition of musical associations condemns Barbieri's method, and I mention this here so that it may be kept in mind against future discoveries. I have always included the Spanish setting, by Vilches, an unknown musician, in programmes of early music because I thought it showed traces of Galician-Portuguese style, not only because of its textual likeness to Asturian and

Galician popular songs, but for these same two cadential phrases. It is pleasant to find one's early conjectures so generously and unexpectedly affirmed.

This persisting cadence thus proved common to both Spain and Portugal, my next search was for evidence of that southern phrase which haunts Barbieri's collection, for if this northern cadence hovers over the music of those centuries with a Christian benediction, the vivid rhythm of *doh, re, mi, fa, mi, mi, re, mi* grips the Spanish music of that age with the possessive force of a *dæmon*. In comparison it appears only rarely in the Portuguese *Cancioneiro*. Here, then, is a musical emphasis of the historical fact that the Reconquest was completed in Portugal two and a half centuries before Spain achieved it. Though Moorish musicians continued to perform on Portuguese royal and popular occasions, they were regarded as privileged playthings, and their influence faded quickly before the gibberish patter-songs of negro boys—whose ignorance was put to sly musical use in the theatre—and the goatish mulatto dances of less reputable haunts. The Spanish were obsessed by the Moorish influence, whose ineradicable force the Barbieri song-book proves. Senhor Joaquim marks the appearance of this phrase in his book, but quite fails to connect it with the famous "*Enemiga le soy madre*". Compared with the innumerable times it appears in Spain, it is relatively unimportant in Portugal, and is therefore another proof of the early divergence of the two countries.

The survival force of cadential phrases comes out again in another example. Departing on a wider search, to see whether this Elvas collection contained any parallel to the famous relationship between the Catalan cradle-song "*Que li darém*" and the Galician-Portuguese dance, in which the main difference is that of the placing of its two parts, I found one in No. 31, bars 22 to 25, which is of course the cadential phrase of the Catalan "*Una cansoneta nova*", where it serves a dual purpose to end both the major and minor sections of this melody. I have always thought there was more in the musical structure of this Catalan song than meets the eye and ear. Whether this fragment should add more fuel to the controversies of Spanish ethnographers and the peripheral theory is not for a musician to say, but as Senhor Joaquim invites suggestions for further investigation, perhaps a further pursuit of this line of inquiry along popular melodies may yield similar results in support of it.

In the prologue to his play '*Triunfo do Inverno*' Gil Vicente makes a long but witty lament for the passing of the jolly songs and dances of his boyhood before the incoming salt-tides of lachrymose Castilian fashions, whose extravaganzas were never outdone by the most fantastic of our Elizabethan writers. This song-book could not have been more aptly devised to illustrate his theme, and perhaps was contemporary, roughly speaking. He was born about 1465. Those which echo the sorrows of Dante, as introduced by the translations of the Marques de Santillana, who had near connections with Portugal, also help us to date them; No. 30, with the refrain of

*Lembranças desesperadas,
Pois vossas glorias passadas,
Morrem de males presentes*

is yet another gloss upon his poem.

Senhor Joaquim makes no mention of possible instrumental influence on this music. The *gaita* line is, I think, observable in such popular threads as the middle part of No. 41 (48), "*Vamonos Juan al aldea*", and surely that phrase—bar 12 and onwards—is most unmistakably the opening of the strangest Portuguese romance, "*No Figueiral*", and the most famous of their medieval legendary tales. Perhaps, too, the melodic open-work visible in many cases was a direct result of the native fondness for wind instruments that was a persistent tradition; the woodwind especially, with its reedy plaintive note, to which, as to the *gaita*, the Lusitanian spirit seems to have vibrated in sympathy from remote times. All these songs belong to the age of innocence, even before the game of catch as catch can became a technician's debauchery, and they fall on the ear like the dawn chorus of doves and wood-pigeons to which Portuguese woods and valleys still resound.

It would be a mistake to attempt to date these songs by Spanish measures. Early Portuguese church music—of the genuinely native school—lags behind its neighbour by a generation at least. It is none the worse for that. Portugal is a country to which exotic excitements have come early and the discipline of European forms came late, and her contribution to European ways of living owes much to the meeting of these peculiarities. It explains in part the strong archaic factor in Portuguese art. The archaic has a dignity of its own and a value to those who can perceive in the retarded Gothic of Guarda cathedral, as in this song-book, the same racial insistence on working out to local conclusions the aesthetic principles established elsewhere. Portuguese music, like its other arts, offers some agreeable pleasures to those who appreciate the slow ripening mellowness of an Indian summer.

None of these sixty-five songs bears a musician's name, though the original composer of a few can be easily traced through Barbieri-Enzina's "*Quien te traxo el cavallero*", for instance. Three have the distinction of appearing in Barbieri's inventory of works

cited in the original index of which no trace remains; these are Nos. 45, 49 and 59. I suggested once that if they cared to exert themselves the Portuguese might claim a number of the anonymous songs in Barbieri's Cancionero. The discovery of this Portuguese work at Elvas fully supports my supposition. The reward would repay the trouble, for here, as seems to be a rule everywhere else, some of the loveliest melodies in existence have come down to us through unknown singers, as some of the most poignant poems in the language have ended with that unspoken sigh of farewell—anon.

A. L. (i).

REVIEWS OF MUSIC

Babin, Victor, *Sonata-Fantasia* for Violoncello and Piano. (Augener, London.) 8s.

It would not be right to say that one should go out of one's way to hear this score, but having played it through one has not wasted one's time. Mr. Babin's turn of phrase is jaunty; it is odd; it has life. It has what our American friends would call "personality"; but not more than that. When one comes to the end of the work it somehow does not stay in the mind, but quickly becomes diffused, so that one recalls it as a pleasant but not very memorable experience.

Berkeley, Lennox, *A Festival Anthem* for Chorus and Organ. (Chester, London.) 4s.

The sequence "Jerusalem et Sion filiae" and poems by George Herbert and Henry Vaughan form the text of this religious work, written for St. Matthew's Church, Northampton. In the massive opening chorus and in the concluding *andante* Mr. Berkeley conveys a sense of power not often apparent in this original composer's work. There are other passages of a beautiful stillness and serenity, notably the tenor solo "Graves are beds now for the weary" with chords of the seventh in the treble relieving the wilful monotony. The purely lyrical sections are particularly attractive, notably the treble solo "O that I once past changing were".

Berkeley, Lennox, *Lord, when the sense of Thy sweet grace* (Richard Crashaw). Anthem for Mixed Voices and Organ. (Chester, London.) 7d.

The mood of the poem by Richard Crashaw (1612-49) which Mr. Berkeley uses as a text for this anthem is immediately evoked in the opening organ introduction by a few bars of beautiful harmonic writing. It is a poem of mingled passion and despair—Crashaw was especially attracted to St. Theresa—and these sentiments, it seems to me, are remarkably suggested in this introduction by a use of dissonance, searing in its effect, but always artistic. Common chords, modulations to remote keys and a hint of chromaticism form the basis of this harmonic introduction in block-chords which, having thus exposed the inner conflict of the poem, returns triumphantly to the opening key of B minor to disclose, as it were, the serene entry of the choir on the words

Lord, when the sense of Thy sweet grace
Sends up my soul to seek Thy face.

The effect is dramatic and very lovely. Similar contrasts of power and lyricism are exploited throughout this short anthem until, at the end, the poet's quiet resolution,

For while Thou sweetly slayest me
Dead to myself I live in Thee,

is reflected in a series of more adjacent modulations concluding with an organ pedal. It is a moving piece of modern religious music.

Berkeley, Lennox, *Ode du Premier Jour de Mai* (Jean Passerat). (Chester, London.) 2s.

It is not often that one has the good fortune to come upon a song of such delicate beauty as this example of Mr. Berkeley's. Its endearing modulations, its graceful arabesque, the disarming simplicity of the accompaniment—each of these features is immediately appealing. I do not mean to stint my praise: the distinction of the sentiment in this song is worthy of the best Fauré.

Bliss, Arthur, *Miracle in the Gorbals*. A Ballet in one scene. (Novello, London.) Piano score.

There is an enormous diversity of interest in this score. Mr. Bliss is versatile enough to write in many different moods and styles, incorporating jazz effects, waltz tunes and heroic fanfares—all this is here, but not a sense of reverie. It is music that is sharply exteriorized, as topical as the scenario itself which, in fact, might have been some blood-and-thunder thriller. Hence the deliberately garish effects of some sections—effects well suited to the tension and drama of the action on the stage.

Britten, Benjamin, *Scottish Ballad*, for Two Pianos and Orchestra, Op. 26. Arrangement for two pianos. (Boosey and Hawkes.) 12s. 6d.

The vitality and verve with which this ironic portrayal of Scottish national music is presented are somewhat deceptive. The piano writing, though immensely effective, is technically very simple, which is neither a virtue nor a fault in itself; but it leaves the impression, unusual in Mr. Britten's music, of being peculiarly unsubtle. This writing is notable for its *glissandi* and its *martellato* effects. There is something more in these characteristic Scottish tunes—the hymn-tune "Dundee", "Turn ye to me" and "The Flowers of the Forest"—than the opportunity they provide here for what amounts to a fantasia in some mock-virtuoso style. The composer's facility in this work, and also his ease of conception, remind one of Saint-Saëns; its humour and effectiveness are not far removed from 'Le Carnaval des animaux'. An entertaining work, kept deliberately superficial.

Davie, Cedric Thorpe, *Dirge for Cuthullin*, for Chorus and Orchestra. Piano and Vocal Score. (Oxford University Press.)

Mr. Davie reveals a sense of dramatic expression in this short choral work. The themes have an incisive character, the orchestration, from the indications on the piano score, would seem to be resourceful, the harmony is adventurous and the work is rhythmically alive. The choral writing is less impressive. So far as one can judge from playing the work at the keyboard, it appears to have captured the essential vividness of the poem, an extract from Macpherson's 'Ossian'.

Finzi, Gerald, *Five Bagatelles*, for Clarinet and Piano. (Boosey & Hawkes, London.) 5s.

It is difficult not to dissociate these pieces from the style of Vaughan Williams and Delius, at any rate the two slow movements and the 'Forlana'. They contain beautiful passages obviously written with feeling and sincerity, but Mr. Finzi's re-creation of this now well-known lyrical style is really a reproduction: he does not make the style live again in a new and refreshing way. The opening and closing movements reveal a more vigorous aspect of Mr. Finzi's music—vigorous, but unadventurous and essentially conservative.

Fulton, Norman, *Sonatina* for Pianoforte. (Oxford University Press.) 5s. 6d.

Mr. Fulton's writing is fluent; nothing impedes the progress of his ideas. But as is often the case, such an ease of manner seems to be bought at the cost of integrity. The ideas are commonplace; the work rings false. One cannot help feeling that in this work Mr. Fulton has eschewed that conflict ever present in some form or other in the artist's mind, whether to risk failure or to cede to indulgence and facility.

Rawsthorne, Alan, *Concerto*, for Piano and Orchestra. Full Score. (Oxford University Press.) 7s. 6d.

This is an inspiring little work. The inspiration is principally in the themes, each so clear-cut and incisive, of the three movements, respectively, entitled 'Capriccio', 'Chaconne' and 'Tarentella'. The developments are full of incident, the orchestration is admirably light. The piano writing is figurative and decorative, often in two parts with many running scales. Mr. Rawsthorne's conception of the piano in this work suggests Scarlatti and at the same time Hindemith. There are, however, one or two awkward passages which might have been improved pianistically, particularly where bravura effects are aimed at. Unexpected and wholly captivating rhythms are adroitly introduced to lighten the musical argument, for Rawsthorne is never ponderous nor, on the other hand, is he over-fastidious. The whole work is alert. Particularly striking is a lovely little duet for piano and xylophone in the first movement. The 'Chaconne', with its quaint modulations, reminds one of the best of Prokofiev's lyrical music. I am not sure that the 'Tarentella' is so successful. Too much seems to be sacrificed to the purely rhythmic aspects of this movement, with the result that this most entertaining repast—if one may suggest such an analogy—is finished off with a dry wine instead of the liqueur we might have expected.

Rawsthorne, Alan, *We Three Merry Maidens* (*Nous étions trois filles*). (Oxford University Press.) 2s. 6d.

The pastoral scene of this traditional French poem is realistically depicted in the dance-like accompaniment to this song while the vocal line enables the singer to give expression to the narrative. It is very much the same procedure as Mr. Rawsthorne uses in his 'Three French Nursery Songs', and this example shows, too, the descriptive talent so effectively displayed in the composer's earlier suite for piano duet, 'The Creel

Tippett, Michael. *The Weeping Babe* (Edith Sitwell). Motet for Soprano Solo and Mixed Choir. (Schott, London.) 8d.

Mr. Tippett's method here is derived from the musical symbolism of the madrigal composers. An attempt is made to give a musical illustration of each poetic image; more than that, words such as "weep", "spring" and "sing" are singled out for an appropriate illustration of their own. The vocal lines are extremely flexible—sometimes, with their leaps of the sixth, seventh and ninth, a little unnaturally so; the counterpoint, as is usual in Mr. Tippett's music, abounds in canons; the rhythms are complex—bar-lines seem merely to add to the complication—and there are some beautiful cadences. Indeed, there are many arresting passages of a genuine musical appeal. One's criticism is that they tend to become lost in the undergrowth of contrapuntal device and musical imagery.

Wellesz, Egon. *I sing of a maiden* (Anon. 15th century) and *See, the day begins to break* (John Fletcher) for Unaccompanied Chorus. (Oxford University Press.) 4d. each.

Open fifths, parts proceeding by adjacent notes or small intervals, a use of modal cadences and a homophonic technique combine to give a primitive atmosphere to these settings of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century poems. The writing is not an imitation of any of the Renaissance styles: it suggests, if anything, a more remote style, despite the occasional use of modern procedures such as an enharmonic modulation made to produce, in the setting of John Fletcher's poem, a delightful impressionistic effect. E. L.

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CONTENTS :

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MUSICAL SCHOLARSHIP AND THE UNIVERSITY	OTTO KINKELDEY
LA CONTRIBUTION ITALIENNE AU <i>Thesaurus Musicus</i> DE 1564	CHARLES VAN DEN BORREN
THE GREGHESCA AND THE GIUSTINIANA OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY	ALFRED EINSTEIN
THE CONCEPT OF THE <i>Imitazione della Natura</i> IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY	ARMEN CARAPETIAN
* * * *	
THE PHOTOGRAPHIC COLLECTION OF MUSIC AT THE ISHAM LIBRARY, HARVARD UNIVERSITY, A DESCRIPTIVE LIST	WILLI APEL
RENAISSANCE NEWS (with the co-operation of the Committee on Renaissance Studies, American Council of Learned Societies)	Edited by FREDERICK STERNFELD
BIBLIOGRAPHY	

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THE MUSICAL QUARTERLY

(THE AMERICAN SCHOLARLY PERIODICAL)

Edited by GUSTAVE REESE

Published in January, April, July and October

Vol. XXXII. No. 2. CONTENTS : APRIL 1946

NATIVE MUSIC ON OKINAWA	JAN LA RUE
THE NEWLY DISCOVERED AUTOGRAPH OF BEETHOVEN'S <i>Rondo a Capriccio</i> , Op. 129	ERICH HERTZMANN
ROGER SESSIONS : PORTRAIT OF AN AMERICAN COMPOSER	MARK A. SCHUBART
AUGUSTE AND HIS CLAUQUE	W. LORAN CROSTEN
THE RECOGNITION OF CHORDAL FORMATION BY EARLY MUSIC THEORISTS	HELEN E. BUSH
EXCERPTS FROM THE MEMOIRS OF J. W. TOMASCHEK	MARY BROWNING SCANLON
THOMAS HASTINGS	ARTHUR HOLDE
UNPUBLISHED LETTERS BY BEETHOVEN, LISZT, AND BRAHMS	SAMUEL A. BALDWIN
THE AMERICAN GUILD OF ORGANISTS	P. H. L.
EDITORIAL	
REVIEWS OF BOOKS	
Gilbert Chase : <i>A Guide to Latin American Music</i>	Reviewed by Charles Seeger
Richard Engländer : <i>Joseph Martin Kraus und die Gustavianische Oper</i>	Reviewed by Donald Jay Grout
Wladimir Lakond (Translator) : <i>The Diaries of P. Tchaikovsky</i>	Reviewed by Alfred J. Swan
QUARTERLY BOOK-LIST	
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Piano Score - - - - - 12/6

Concert Suite for Orchestra—Material on Hire

NOVELLO